

BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

VOL. 3

APRIL-DECEMBER, 1916

Nos. 2 and 3

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

A N exhibition to commemorate the Three-hundredth Anniversary of the Death of Shakespeare was arranged in the main library, and opened on the Wednesday preceding the actual date of the anniversary (the 23rd of April), which fell on Easter Sunday.

THE
SHAKE-
SPEARE
COMMEMO-
RATION.

The object which was kept in view in the selection and arrangement of the exhibits, was to show the unfolding of Shakespeare's mind as it is reflected in his works. This we sought to accomplish by exhibiting, not only such of the original and early editions of the poet's writings as the library possesses, but also the principal sources which he employed in their composition.

As a result we were able to bring together copies of the actual editions of the principal works to which Shakespeare had access, probably upon the shelves of his own library, since they are known to be the authorities whence he drew the foundation plots, stories, and other illustrative matter, which, after passing through the crucible of his mind, were transformed into the living and lasting reality which we find enshrined in his immortal works.

Of Shakespeare's own works we have been able to exhibit two sets of the four folios, and an interesting copy of the surreptitiously printed "Sonnets" of 1609, which made its first appearance in June, the identical month in which Edward Alleyn, the contemporary actor, and founder of Dulwich College, purchased a copy for 5d., the same figure as that which appears in manuscript on the title-page of the one exhibited. Of the original quartos of the plays, the library does not possess a single example; therefore, for the purpose of illustrating the order of publication of the plays and poems, which were printed either with or without authority during the author's lifetime, we have had recourse to the excellent facsimiles which have appeared from time to time.

In addition to what may be described as the direct sources, we have included an interesting selection of contemporary works of a more general character, with which Shakespeare was certainly familiar, and which may be described as his general reference books. As an indication of the character of these works, mention may be made of the following : William Camden's "Britannia"; John Florio's "World of Words" and "Second Fruits"; Leonard Digges' "Pantometria," in which there is a description of the invention of the "camera obscura," which in its modern form is known as the "periscope," which is attributed to Digges; Randle Cotgrave's "French Dictionary"; "Dives Pragmaticus"; Richard Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations"; and Saxton's "Atlas".

Another of the exhibition cases has been devoted to contemporary writings, which are of topographical or historical interest as bearing directly upon Shakespeare and his times, or which contain allusions to the poet, such as "England's Parnassus"; Heywood's "Apology for Actors"; the unique copy of "Ratsei's Ghost" in which the author seems to make a sarcastic reflection on Shakespeare, who, a few years earlier, had purchased New Place, Stratford, out of his professional earnings.

Finally, we have assembled a collection of school-books, many of which were current in Shakespeare's day. These serve to convey some idea of the character and standard of the education which obtained in England, not only at the time of our poet, but also in the earlier part of the sixteenth century. Amongst the works exhibited are : the little grammar "Rudimenta Grammatices" prepared by Cardinal Wolsey for the use of the college at Ipswich, which he had established in succession to the old grammar school; the first book wholly on arithmetic to be printed in England, the author of which was Cuthbert Tunstall, successively Bishop of London and Durham; and the treatise on education entitled "The Schoolmaster," by Roger Ascham, the tutor of Queen Elizabeth, in which he testifies warmly to Her Majesty's learning.

The purpose which this and similar exhibitions are intended to serve, is to reveal to the public, and especially to students, the wealth of material available to them, in the library, for the study of the subjects dealt with. If we may judge from the large number of people, including numerous groups of students from the schools and colleges in

and around Manchester, who, with evident enjoyment, and avowed benefit, have visited the present exhibition, as well as from the appreciative notices which have appeared in the press, we venture to believe that the purpose has been fully achieved.

It may interest our readers to know that the exhibition will remain on view until the early months of the new year.

With a view to increase the educational value of the exhibition, and also to mark the occasion, a descriptive catalogue or handbook has been issued, in which, by means of annotations to the various entries, full and accurate information is given as to the bibliographical peculiarities, and other features of interest possessed by the respective exhibits. In the case of Shakespeare's own works, brief notes as to the sources have been appended to each of the plays, with an indication of the precise location in the exhibition and the catalogue of the works to which reference is made.

SHAKE-SPEARE EX-HIBITION CATA-LOGUE.

A brief sketch of Shakespeare's life and times, followed by a chronological table of the principal events connected with and surrounding the poet and his writings, has been prefixed to the catalogue, which concludes with a sixteen-page selected list of works for the study of Shakespeare, which may be consulted in the library.

The volume, which extends to 180 pages, and is illustrated with sixteen facsimiles of the title-pages of some of the rarer and most interesting of the works exhibited, may be obtained from the usual agents at the price of one shilling (postage 4d.).

The commemoration was further marked by the delivery of two lectures by Professor Richard G. Moulton, of Chicago University, on "Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist," and "Shakespeare as a Dramatic Thinker". On each occasion the hall was filled to overflowing, long before the advertised hour of the lecture, whilst hundreds of people were unable to gain admission. The lectures were full of inspiration and suggestion. The lecturer with his accustomed power seemed to cast a spell over his audience, as he revealed to them new beauties in the works of the dramatist, and opened out new avenues of study.

SHAKE-SPEARE COMMEMORATION LECTURES.

Arrangements were also made with Mr. William Poel, the Founder and Director of the Elizabethan Stage Society, to deliver a lecture upon "Shakespeare's Stage and Plays". Unfortunately, a

sudden attack of influenza prevented Mr. Poel from fulfilling his engagement, and in his unavoidable absence the Librarian lectured on "Why we honour Shakespeare".

We are glad, however, to be able to present our readers, in the present issue, with the substance of Mr. Poel's lecture. Unfortunately it is in cold print, and lacks the vitalizing personality of the lecturer, but in it some new and interesting theories are advanced which will be read with considerable interest, although they are not likely to pass unchallenged.

The article has been issued also in a separate form, at the price of one shilling, and may be obtained from the usual agents.

Our own exhibition has been admirably supplemented in Manchester, at the Whitworth Art Gallery, by an interesting and instructive exhibition of pictorial Shakespeareana, which was designed to illustrate, principally by means of pictures, the history of our national poet and the representation of his works. It includes portraits of Shakespeare, his patrons, his critics, his commentators, as well as of actors ; with topographical illustrations including the play-houses, a long series of play-bills, medals, tokens, busts, etc. The arrangement of the material is excellent, and we offer our congratulations to the Governors of the Whitworth Institute and to the Curator, upon the success which has attended their enterprise in organizing an exhibition, which as a pendant to the John Rylands collection has done much to increase the educational value of Manchester's Tercentenary Commemoration.

Elsewhere in the present issue we print the fourth list of contributions to the new library for the University of Louvain, furnishing fresh evidence of the generous and widespread interest which our appeal on behalf of the crippled University has called forth.

Already upwards of 8000 volumes have been actually received, and in themselves form an excellent beginning of the new library. Yet, when it is realized that the collection of books, so ruthlessly and senselessly destroyed at Louvain, numbered nearly a quarter of a million of volumes, it will be evident that if the work of replacement, which we have inaugurated, is to be accomplished, very much more remains to be done.

WILLIAM
POEL ON
SHAKE-
SPEARE'S
STAGE AND
PLAYS.

WHIT-
WORTH
PICTORIAL
SHAKE-
SPEARE
EXHIBI-
TION.

LOUVAIN
LIBRARY
RECON-
STRUCTION.

It is with confidence that we renew our appeal for prompt offers of suitable books, or monetary contributions, to help us in this endeavour to restore, at least in some measure, the resources of the crippled and exiled University, by the provision of a library adequate in every respect to meet the requirements of the case, so as to be in readiness for the time of her restoration.

Arrangements have been made for the delivery of the following lectures during the ensuing session.

FORTH-COMING
LIBRARY
LECTURES.

EVENING LECTURES (7.30 p.m.).

Wednesday, 11th October, 1916. "The Quintessence of Paulinism." By Arthur S. Peake, M.A., D.D., Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th November, 1916. "Dragons and Rain Gods." (Illustrated with Lantern Pictures.) By G. Elliot Smith, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Anatomy in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th December, 1916. "Mediæval Town Planning." By T. F. Tout, M.A., F.B.A., Bishop Fraser Professor of Mediæval and Ecclesiastical History in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th January, 1917. "The Problem of Indian Land Revenue in the Eighteenth Century." By J. Ramsay B. Muir, M.A., Professor of Modern History in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th February, 1917. "The Poetry of Lucretius." By C. H. Herford, M.A., Litt.D., Professor of English Literature in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th March, 1917. "A Puritan Idyll: Richard Baxter (1615-1691) and his Love Story." By Frederick J. Powicke, M.A., Ph.D.

Wednesday, 18th April, 1917. "Shakespeare's 'Lear': A Moral Problem Dramatized." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

Friday, 20th April, 1917. "Fiction as the Experimental Side of Human Philosophy." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D.

AFTERNOON LECTURES (3 p.m.).

Tuesday, 17th October, 1916. "The Origin of the Cult of Aphrodite." (Illustrated with Lantern Pictures.) By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc., Hon. Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge.

Tuesday, 2nd January, 1917. "Sir Thomas More and his 'Utopia.'"¹ By Foster Watson, M.A., D.Lit., Emeritus Professor in the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and Lecturer in Rhetoric in Gresham College, London.

Tuesday, 6th March, 1917. "Shakespeare's Theatre." (Illustrated by One Hundred Lantern Pictures.) By William Poel, Founder and Director of the Elizabethan Stage Society.

Mrs. Emmott, of Birkenhead, has generously presented to the library, in memory of her husband, the late Professor IMPORTANT GIFT
OF LAW
BOOKS. Emmott, of Liverpool University, a collection of books, numbering nearly 300 volumes, dealing with Roman Law and Comparative Law and Jurisprudence, in the hope that it may stimulate others to take an interest in a study in which the late Professor was himself so deeply interested.

This collection forms a most welcome addition to our shelves, since it enables us to strengthen an important section of the library, which, hitherto, has been only very inadequately developed.

During the process of registering and cataloguing the gift, it was found that a certain number of the works were already in the library. These volumes, with the kind consent of Mrs. Emmott, have been added to the Louvain collection.

Professor George Henry Emmott, whose memory, henceforth, will be perpetuated in the annals of this library, was the eldest of five sons of the late Thomas Emmott, of Brookfield, Oldham. He was born in 1855, and was educated, first at the Friends' School, Stramongate, Kendal, and afterwards at Owens College, Manchester, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took a First Class in the Law Tripos, in 1878. On leaving the University he read law in the chambers of Mr. Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, and was called to the Bar in 1879. Shortly afterwards

¹ In commemoration of the first publication of "Utopia" at Louvain in February, 1516.

he took chambers in Manchester, and was appointed Lecturer on English Law in Owens College. In 1881 he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Mr. Joseph Bevan Braithwaite; and for the next five years made his home at Wilmslow.

Then came a call to a professorship in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, where for ten years he entered with zest into all the activities of the University life, his work being principally with post-graduate students in Roman Law and Comparative Jurisprudence. For five years he was also Lecturer on Civil Law in Columbia University, Washington.

During the whole of his residence in America Professor Emmott made an annual visit to England to see his parents, and in 1896, on being offered the Queen Victoria Chair of Law in University College, now the University of Liverpool, he decided to return permanently. For twenty years he held this Chair, being Dean of his Faculty for nearly thirteen years, and continued his work up to the very end, delivering his last lecture on the day before his lamented death, which took place on the 8th of March, 1916.

Speaking at the University Senate, the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Alfred Dale, paid a graceful tribute to the memory of his late colleague. "How Emmott served us here we all know ; the endless pains he took over his work ; the quiet ardour with which he spent himself in helping others ; how much more ready as a teacher he was to give than most pupils are ready to receive. Except on formal business he seldom spoke in this room, but we valued his opinions, trusted his judgment, and when he spoke, could always be sure of this, that the last thing he thought of was his own interest and himself. Vanity, display, and self-seeking, he not only avoided, but abhorred. He was a man that even in these distracted days we shall not soon forget, and we shall always remember him as one who obeyed an inner law, and followed an inner light. . . ."

Of the strength and soundness of his work Professor Maitland held a very high opinion, which was in itself a fine and rare distinction.

Of Quaker parentage Professor Emmott was throughout his life intimately associated with the Society of Friends. He was a great book-lover, and had a large and well-chosen library, in which he delighted to spend his leisure hours among never-failing friends.

Among the recent acquisitions of the library is a collection of manuscripts, numbering forty pieces, of undetermined antiquity, in the language of the Mo-so people. These manuscripts are of considerable importance, since they represent the largest group in this particular script to be brought into Europe. They were acquired through the instrumentality of Mr. George Forrest, who obtained them in the remote and little-known country of their origin, whence he returned only a few months since.

MANU-
SCRIPTS IN
THE MO-SO
LANGUAGE.

The manuscripts are mostly oblong in shape, measuring about three inches in height by ten inches in width, and are written in picture characters, on a thick Oriental paper of uneven texture, apparently brown with age.

The Mo-so are a non-Chinese race scattered throughout Southern China, but their stronghold, and the seat of their traditions, is the prefecture of Li-Kiang-fou, called in Tibetan "Sa-dam," and in Mo-so "Ye-gu," which is in the north-west of Yun-nan.

The present prefect traces his descent to a line of kings that go back as far as the year 618.

Travellers from the days of Marco Polo have made reference to this people, but until quite recent years no attempt has been made to deal with their history and language, probably because few scholars had penetrated to the remote region of their habitat. The first scientific monograph upon the subject was read before the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, in 1908, by M. Cordier. In 1913, another scholar, M. J. Bacot, after a residence of several months in the Mo-so country, published, under the auspices of the Institut ethnographique international de Paris, an interesting study of the ethnography, religion, language, and writing of the people, in which he was assisted by M. E. Chavannes, who was responsible for a translation and study of the texts, dealing with the genealogy of the kings of Mo-so, which M. Bacot obtained from their direct descendant.

The Mo-so spoken language differs from the written language. The latter consists of pictographic, ideographic, and syllabic characters.

Many of the ideographic characters, M. Bacot tells us, are very obscure. It is for that reason we attach considerable importance to an excellent key to one of the manuscripts, which Mr. Forrest was fortunately able to obtain, through the services of a Chinese scholar, who was familiar with the people and their language.

The manuscript referred to was first transcribed and then furnished with an interlinear translation in Chinese characters. A further transcript of both the Mo-so and the Chinese was afterwards made, to which was added an English translation of the Chinese version, thus providing us with a key which may prove to be of great service when the other manuscripts in the collection come to be dealt with.

The text of the translated manuscript is of a religious character, opening with a version of the creation story, and as far as we are able at present to judge, most of the others are of a similar type.

The religious practices of this people seem to follow the cults of the particular regions where they are settled, and include natural religion, lamaism, magic, and ancestral worship. The practice of so many cults, differing so greatly in character, seems to indicate a certain indifference to religion, which may account for the failure of the Christian missionaries, who, for sixty years or more, apparently have been active among this people, but hitherto without making a single convert.

The religion proper of the Mo-so, however, is the Cult of Heaven, which embraces a Supreme Being endowed with infinite attributes, providence, and justice. They have their holy city at Bedjri, a shrine to which every priest or sorcerer is expected to make at least one pilgrimage during his lifetime. Their temples, if they may be so described, are enclosed spaces, or clearings in the forest, of which the only roof is the canopy of heaven. These enclosures are entered once a year, when sacrifices are offered upon the stone altar which is erected in the centre.

In due course we hope to arrange for the publication of the texts contained in these manuscripts, and it is not unlikely that they will furnish new evidence as to the religious rites and ceremonies to which we have incidentally referred.

In the meantime Mr. Forrest has kindly undertaken to prepare an illustrated article for an early issue of the BULLETIN, in which he will give some account of the Mo-so people, from his personal and, therefore, first-hand knowledge.

The first volume of the new and standard edition of "The Odes and Psalms of Solomon," published by the Manchester University Press, for the Governors of the Library, has just made its appearance. It furnishes for the first time a facsimile in collotype, of the exact dimensions of the original Syriac

FACSIMILE
OF "THE
ODES OF
SOLOMON".

manuscript now in the possession of the library ; which is accompanied by a retranscribed text, with an attached critical apparatus.

In working through the text of the "Odes," the editors, Dr. Rendel Harris and Dr. A. Mingana, became convinced that they were dealing with matter that was either purely Oriental in origin, or so coloured by Oriental modes of thought and expression as to be substantially Oriental, and they decided that it was necessary to reconstruct, as far as possible, the rhythms which underlay the recovered Syriac text, and which showed remarkable parallelism with early Syriac poetry. The text has accordingly been broken up ; and this made it necessary to redistribute and renumber the verses as they were given in Dr. Harris's "editio princeps".

In their preface, the editors point out that this text will enable students to acquire first-hand knowledge of the forms in which the "Odes" have come down to us, as well as occasionally to register a possible or probable emendation.

In the second volume, which we hope to publish in the early part of the new year, it is proposed to re-translate the "Odes" into English versicles, with brief comments by way of elucidation. The translation will be accompanied by an exhaustive introduction, dealing with the variations of the fragment in the British Museum, with the original language, the probable epoch of their composition, their unity, the stylistic method of their first writer, the accessory patristic testimonies, a summary of the most important criticisms that have appeared since its first publication in 1909, a complete bibliography of the subject, and a glossary to the text.

Those readers who may be unfamiliar with the character and importance of the document, which is now being made accessible to students, are referred to Dr. Rendel Harris's brief statement of its value, which appeared in the October, 1914, issue of this BULLETIN.

The price at which each of the volumes will be issued is half a guinea net. The first volume is on sale, and may be procured from the usual publishers or their agents.

We welcome the appearance of the first annual issue of the "Athenæum Subject Index to Periodicals," covering the year 1915 ; and we offer our heartiest congratulations to all who have been concerned in its production.

The publication of this valuable aid to scholarship has been made

THE NEW
SUBJECT
INDEX TO
PERIODI-
CALS.

possible through the co-operation of the proprietors of "The Atheneum" with the Library Association and a number of voluntary workers. In justice, however, to the editors, Mr. E. Wyndham Hulme, Librarian of the Patent Office Library, and his colleague, Mr. Hopwood, it should also be pointed out that it is due entirely to their indomitable perseverance, coupled with unwearying and self-sacrificing labour in the face of serious discouragements, that the work has been carried to so successful an issue.

The volume consists of a consolidation, in one alphabet, of the series of monthly class lists, published as supplements to "The Atheneum," with the addition of upwards of 2000 entries. The result may be stated as follows : 420 periodicals have been indexed, yielding 13,374 articles classified under 7054 headings and accompanied by 7280 author references.

This is not the first attempt which has been made in this country to recover and make accessible to students some of the thousands of important contributions to literature which in the past have been buried and neglected for want of proper cataloguing or indexing, simply because, by an accident of birth, they appear in the heart of a volume of the transactions of some learned society, or other periodical publication.

In 1890 Mr. Stead, in connection with his "Review of Reviews," published an "Annual Index to Important Periodicals of the English Speaking World," which was continued for thirteen years (until 1902), after which it ceased to appear, killed by apathy and lack of support on the part of those in whose interest it had been undertaken.

For the honour of the country and its librarianship, it is to be hoped that a better fate is in store for the new index than that which befell, not only the one published by Mr. Stead, but the American "Poole's Index to Periodical Literature," which after a useful career, extending from 1848 to 1907, also ceased to appear in the latter year.

In order to appreciate the value and importance of this literary tool it needs only to be recognized that every item recovered by this means from the buried material, to which we have already referred, adds to the available resources of the library, and often is of greater value than the purchase of many new volumes. We go so far as to say that the smaller the library the greater the need to have its resources expanded in this way. Even when the library possesses few or none of the

periodicals dealt with in the Index, it surely is worth while to be able to refer a reader to an article likely to furnish information upon the subject of his quest, which may be consulted in some neighbouring library, or which may be borrowed from the "Loan Library," which has been established in connection with the Index.

We learn that the number of periodicals dealt with in the present issue is to be augmented in succeeding issues, provided that adequate support is forthcoming.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that every library and every learned society throughout the country will feel it to be, not only to their advantage to subscribe for the Index, but also a duty to assist those who have undertaken the responsibility of this work purely in the interest of scholarship, and by so doing, relieve them from any financial anxiety.

The present issue of the Bulletin, which is a double number, will be found to contain a classified list of the most important of the recent accessions to the library, in the departments of Literature and History. A combined author index to the lists appearing in the current volume will be published in the following issue.

The next issue may be looked for early in the new year and will include an article by Professor C. H. Herford, entitled "National and International Ideals in the English Poets," being the substance of a lecture delivered in the library, in January last; and the fourth of Dr. Rendel Harris's articles on Greek Mythology, dealing with "The Cult of Aphrodite," in addition to the usual list of accessions, and other regular features.

LIST OF
RECENT AC-
CESSIONS.
OUR NEXT
ISSUE.



Artemisia arborescens

From Sibthorp's "Flora Graeca".

a. INVOLUCRUM. b. UNUM E FOLIOLIS INVOLUCRI, MAGNITUDINE AUCTUM.
C. FLOSCULUS, VALDE AUCTUS. b. UNUM E FOLIOLIS INVOLUCRI.
c. FLOSCULUS.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF ARTEMIS.¹

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., LITT.D., LL.D., D.THEOL., ETC.,
HON. FELLOW OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THE attempt which we have made to disentangle the strands which make up the complexity of the Cult of Apollo, and to determine the starting-point for the evolution of that cult, leads on naturally and necessarily to the inquiry as to the meaning of the cult of the twin-sister of Apollo, the Maiden-Huntress of Greek woods and mountains. It might have been imagined that the resolution of one cult into its elements would lead quite inevitably to the interpretation of the companion cult, but this is far from being the case. The twins in question are quite unlike the Dioscuri, Castor and Polydeuces, whose likeness is so pronounced and whose actions are generally so similar that Lucian in his "Dialogues of the Gods" sets Apollo inquiring of Hermes which of the two is Castor and which is Polydeuces, "for," says he, "I never can make out." And Hermes has to explain that it was Castor yesterday and Polydeuces to-day, and that one ought to recognise Polydeuces by the marks of his fight with the king of the Bebryces.

Artemis, on the other hand, rarely behaves in a twin-like manner to Apollo: he does not go hunting with her, and she does not, apparently, practise divination with him; indeed, as we begin to make inquiry as to Apollo and Artemis in the Pre-Homeric days, we find that allusions to the twin-birth disappear, and a suspicion arises that the twin relation is a mythological afterthought, rendered necessary by the fact that the brother and sister had succeeded, for some reason or other, to a joint inheritance of a sanctuary belonging to some other pair of twin-heroes, heroines, or demi-deities; and if this should turn out to be the case, we must not take the twin-relationship and parentage from Zeus and Leto as the starting-point in the inquiry: it may be that other circumstances have produced the supposed family relation, and that Leto, who is in philological

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 14 March, 1916.

value only a duplicate of Leda, may turn out to be a very palpable fiction. In that case we shall have to explore the underlying parallelism in the cults of the two deities, outside of the twin relation and anterior to it. The relation of the cults to one another must be sought in another direction. Now let us refresh our memory as to the method which we pursued, and the results which we obtained in the case of the Cults of Dionysos and Apollo. It will be remembered that we started from the sanctity of the oak as the animistic repository of the thunder, and in that sense the dwelling-place of Zeus ; it was assumed that the oak was taboo and all that belonged to it ; that the woodpecker who nested in it or hammered at its bark was none other than Zeus himself, and it may turn out that Athena, who sprang from the head of the thunder-oak, was the owl that lived in one of its hollows : even the bees who lived underneath its bark were almost divine animals, and had duties to perform to Zeus himself. The question having been raised as to the sanctity of the creepers upon the oak, it was easy to show that the ivy (with the smilax and the vine) was a sacred plant, and that it was the original cult-symbol of Dionysos, who thus appeared as a lesser Zeus projected from the ivy, just as Zeus himself, in one point of view, was a projection from the oak. Dionysos, whose thunder-birth could be established by the well-known Greek tradition concerning Semele and Zeus, was the ivy on the oak, and after that became an ivy fire-stick in the ritual for the making of fire. From Dionysos to Apollo was the next step : it was suggested, in the first instance, by the remarkable confraternity of the two gods in question. They were shown to exchange titles, to share sanctuaries, and to have remarkable cult-parallelisms, such as the chewing of the sacred laurel by the Pythian priestess, and the chewing of the sacred ivy by the Mænads : and since it was discovered that the Delphic laurel was a surrogate for a previously existing oak, it was natural to inquire whether in any way Apollo, as well as Dionysos, was linked to the life of Zeus through the life of the oak. The inquiry was very fruitful in results : the undoubted solar elements in the Apolline cult were shown to be capable of explanation by an identification of Apollo with the mistletoe, and it was found that Apollo was actually worshipped at one centre in Rhodes as the Mistletoe Apollo, just as Dionysos was worshipped as the Ivy Dionysos at Acharnai. Further

inquiry led to the conclusion that the sanctity of the oak had been transferred by the mistletoe from the oak to the apple-tree, and that the cult betrayed a close connection between the god and the apple-tree, as, for instance, in the bestowal of sacred apples from the god's own garden upon the winners at the Pythian games. In this way it came to be seen that Apollo was really the mistletoe upon the apple-tree, for the greater part of the development of the cult, just as Dionysos was the Ivy, not detached as some had imagined, but actually upon the oak-tree. It was next discovered that the garden at Delphi was a reproduction of another Apolline garden in the far North, among the Hyperboreans, the garden to which Boreas had carried off Orithyia, and to which (or to another adjacent garden) at a later date the sons of Asklepios were transferred for the purpose of medical training. Some said it was a garden at the back of the North Wind, and some said it was in the far-away Islands of the Blessed ; it was, however, clear that the garden in question was not an orchard, but that it had plants as well as trees, and that the plants were medicinal, and so the garden had no relation to the flower gardens of later times. If a flower grew there, say the peony, it grew there as a part of the primitive herbal. Apollo came from the North as a medicine man, a herbalist, and brought his simples with him. His character of a god of healing was due in the first instance to the fact that the mistletoe, which he represented, was the All-heal¹ of antiquity, as it was to the Druids whom Pliny describes, and as it is among the Ainu of Japan at the present day. His apothecary's shop contained mistletoe, peony, laurel, and perhaps a few more universal or almost universal remedies, and upon these he made his reputation. He must have been a Panakes in his first period of medical practice, but the title passed over to a young lady in the family, who was known as Panakeia, who has furnished the dictionary with the medical word Panacea. Apollo continued to be known as the Paian or Pæonian ; and connection was made in Homer's day with the Pæonians on the Danube, in the Serbian

¹ The belief in All-healing medicines appears to be innate and persistent in human nature. John Bunyan represents Mr. Skill in the "Pilgrim's Progress" as operating with "an universal Pill, good against all the Diseases that Pilgrims are incident to".

area, who appear to have been the progressive herbalists of the day, and to have kept the first medical school to which the Greeks resorted. Moreover, since primitive medicine was magic, as well as medicine, the garden of Apollo contained ἀλεξιφάρμακα, or herbs which protected from witchcraft and evil spirits, of which the mistletoe appears to have been the chief. An attempt was then made to show that the very name of Apollo was, in its early form, Apellon, a loan-word from the North, disguising in the thinnest way his connection with the apple-tree. The apple had come into Greece from the North, perhaps from Teutonic peoples, just as it appears to have come into Western Italy from either Teutons or Celts, giving its name in the one case to the great god of healing, and in the other to the city of Abella, in Campania, through the Celtic word *Aball*.

The importance of the foregoing investigations will be evident : and they furnish for us the starting-point of our investigations of Artemis. We cannot get further back in the Cult of Apollo than the medical garden, behind which lies the apple-tree, the mistletoe, the oak-tree, and the sky-god. It seems probable that it is on the medical side that we shall find the reason for the brotherly-sisterly relation of Apollo and Artemis, for, as we shall show, she has a medical training and a garden of her own, which analogy suggests to have been a medical garden.

Before proceeding to the inquiry as to the character of the relationship between Apollo and Artemis, and the consequent interpretation of the latter in terms borrowed from the former, we will indulge in some further speculation on the Apollo and the apple that came into Greece from the back of the North Wind.

We have already expressed the belief that the apple reached the West of Italy from a Celtic or Teutonic source, and that the ancient city of Abella was an apple-town, named after the fruit, and not the converse. There is nothing out of the way in naming a town or a settlement from the apple-tree. There are a number of apple-towns, for instance, in England, such as Appleby, Appledore, Appledram, Appledurcombe : and although in some cases there has been a linguistic perversion from some earlier name, in which case the apple disappears from the etymology, there are enough cases left by which to establish our statement : the name Appledore, for example, can only mean apple-tree. Look at the following place-names from

Middendorff's "Alt-Englisches Flurnamenbuch" and see how places are identified by sweet apple-trees and sour apple-trees :—

apuldre, apelder, etc., sw. f. Apfelbaum ; of dâ sûran apaeldran 158 ; on sûran apuldran 610 ; swête apuldre 1030 ; wôhgar apeldran 356 ; hâran apeldran 356 ; mäer apelder 356 ; pytt apulder 610 ; apeltrôo 219 ; appeldore 279A ; apeldorestoc 458 ; appell-thorn 922 (daselbst als lignum pomiferum bezeichnet) O.N. (i.e. place-name). Appeldram, Sussex, gleich appuldre ham ; Appuldur Combe auf Wight.

The foregoing references to the Anglo-Saxon Cartulary will show how impossible it is to rule the apple and the apple-tree out of the national landmarks : the form, for instance, which we have underlined, is conclusive for the "stump of an apple-tree" as a place-mark, and for *appledore* as being really an apple-tree, and the equivalent of a number of related forms : when, moreover, we look into the Middle High Dutch, we find to our surprise that, instead of a form related to the German *Apfelbaum*, there occur the following terms, *apfalter, affalter, affolter*, which show the tree-ending nearly in the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian form.

The first result of these observations is the confirmation of the use of the apple-tree as a place-mark ; and what is proved for England is possible for Italy. There is really nothing to prevent the derivation of Abella from *Abál*, and it is quite unnecessary to derive "apple" from Abella and so leave Abella itself unexplained. That is to say, the apple is a northern fruit and has come from the North to the Mediterranean on two routes : we may call them for convenience the *b* route and the *p* route, according as the import comes from the Celtic or Teutonic side : more correctly the import is due to tribes in two different states of the sound-shifting which goes on in the northern languages.

The fact is, that as soon as we have recognised in our own country the existence of towns and villages named after the apple and the apple-tree, we are bound to examine for similar phenomena elsewhere. We cannot, for instance, ignore the meaning of Avallon in the Department of the Yonne, when we have found the Celtic form for apple, and interpreted the happy valley of Avilion : and if Avallon is an apple-town, it did not derive its name from Abella in Campania.

There is, moreover, another direction of observation which leads to a complete demonstration of the dependence of Abella on the apple. No one seems to have noticed that in the South-west of France, in the region that borders on the Pyrenees, there was an ancient cult of an apple-god, exactly similar, judging from the name of the deity, to the Cult of Apollo. Holder in his "Altkeltischer Wortschatz" describes him as a Pyrenæan local god in the upper valley of the Garonne. For instance, we have at Aulon in the *Vallée de la Noue* an inscription

DEO ABELLIONI

Here Aulon is evidently a worn-down form of Avalon, so that we actually discover the apple-god in the apple-town.¹ In the same way we register the inscriptions

<i>Aulon</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Abellioni deo.
<i>S. Béat. (Basses Pyrénées)</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Abelioni deo.
" "	"	"	"	"	.	Abelioni deo.
<i>Vallée de Larboust</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Abelioni deo.
" "	"	"	"	"	.	Abellionni.
<i>St. Bertrand de Comminges</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Abellioni deo.
" "	"	"	"	"	.	Abelion(i) deo.
<i>Fabas, Haute Garonne</i> ²	.	.	.	.	.	Abellionni.

This list can be expanded and corrected from Julian Sacaze's *Inscriptions Antiques des Pyrénées*, but for the present the references given above may suffice.

Here, then, are nine cases of a god, named *abelion* and *abellion*. The parallel with the early Greek spellings of Apollo, *Apellon*, *Apeljon* is obvious, and we need have no hesitation in saying that we have found the Celtic Apollo in the Pyrenees. (The identification with Apollo, but not with the apple, had already been made by Gruter, following Scaliger, *Lectiones Ausonianae*, lib. i. c. 9.) The curious thing is that Holder, while discussing the origin of the name Abella, and landing in a final suspense of judgment as to the question which came first, the apple or the Abella, had on the very same page registered the existence of the Western apple-god. (Holder is, no

¹ "Revue Archéologique," 16, 488.

² "Bull. Soc. Ant. Fr." 1882, 250.

doubt, descended from the blind god Holdur of the Norsemen !) There is evidently not the slightest reason for supposing that Abella can be the starting-point for all these names of towns and deities : Abella is an apple-town for certain, and a Celtic apple-town. We may evidently carry our inquiries after apple-centres a little further : if the apple came from the North into the region of the Pyrenees, and into Campania, it will be strange indeed if it does not find its way across the mountains into Spain. We shall actually find a province and a city named *Avila* (it is Teresa's birthplace) and no doubt was a centre of early apple-culture.¹

¹ In the supplement to Holder there is a good deal more about the apple and the apple-town.

Āball-ō(n) is definitely equated with apple-town.

Other towns are recognised ; L'avalois in the diocese of Autun ; Avallon in the Charente Inférieure, and again in the Dept. Isère.

Then we are told that the modern Avalleur in the Dept. of the Aube is = Avalorra, Avalurre, Avaluria of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and goes back to a primitive Aballo-duro-s or apple-fort : and that the modern place-names Valuéjols in Cantal, Valeuil in Dordogne, and again in the Dept. of the Eure, go back to a primitive Āballōiālō-n, which Holder says means apple-garden.

Holder also traces Vaillac, in the Dept. Lot, and Vaillat in the Charente, to an original Avalli-ācus and so to Avallos ; and also the place-names Havelu (Eure-et-Loire), Haveluy (Nord) and Aveluy (Somme) to an original Avallōvicus.

Who can believe that Abella in Campania is responsible for all this wealth of nomenclature ?

It is interesting to notice that not very far from Abella there is another apple-town, this time due to a Greek Colony. It has been pointed out that the name of Beneventum is a change from the evil-omened Maleventum, and that this latter is formed from the Greek ΜᾶλοFέντα. "The Romans generally formed the name of a Greek town from the Greek accusative" (Giles, "Short Manual of Comp. Philol.", § 273, n. 2).



This leads us at once to the inquiry whether Apollo Maloeis is the local deity of Beneventum : the quickest way to decide this is to examine the coins of the city. Coins of Beneventum are rare ; a reference to the British Museum " Catalogue of Greek Coins in Italy " (p. 68, fig. ; see also Rasche, " Lex. univ. rei. numm." Suppl. i. 1355) will show us the head of Apollo

Another very interesting direction of inquiry is Northern Syria. The student of the New Testament knows the district of Abilene, over which Lysanias is said to have been the tetrarch. One rides through this district on the way from Baalbek to Damascus. Its capital city was Abila, over whose exact identification there is, I believe, still some dispute. There is no dispute, however, about its power of producing apples, as I know by experience : the village of Zebedany, for instance, is famed all over the Lebanon for its excellent apples, one of which was presented to my companion when we sojourned there for a night, by an old lady who took it as a token of extremest friendship, from her own bosom. The climate of the Lebanon appears to suit the apple, which was in all probability imported from the Levant. There is another Abila town on the east side of the Lake of Galilee. Whether that also is an apple-town I am not prepared to say.

Now for some remarks with regard to the first form of the word : we accentuate *apple* on the first syllable, but it is clear that the Celts accentuated it on the last (*abhál*, for instance, in Irish) and this appears from another consideration to be primitive ; the double *n* at the end of the word and in the name of the god requires a forward accent. It is curious that, as with ourselves, the accent in Lithuanian has shifted back to the first syllable.

This shift of the accent is not, however, universal. When we search more closely for apple-towns on English soil, we find traces of the forward accentuation. For if we follow the analogy of places named after the oak, Oakham, Acton, and the like, we find not only such place and personal names as *Appleton* (of which there are nine or ten in "Bartholomew's Gazetteer") but also the forms both in names of persons and names of places, *Pélham*, *Pélton*, which are most naturally explained as derived from *Appelham*, *Appelton*. (Three Pelhams in Herts, a Pelton in Durham, not far from Chester-le-street.) To these we may add what appears to be an English formation from Pembrokeshire ; for *Pelcomb* appears to be parallel in structure and meaning to *Appeldurcombe* in the Isle of Wight.¹

on the coins of Beneventum. It is not a little curious that we have found the Greek apple-town and the Celtic apple-town in Central Italy, within a day's march of one another !

¹ The alternative derivation will be a personal name of the type of John Peel. See Skeat, "Place-names of Hertfordshire."

The whole question of apple names needs a close and careful investigation.

There is another question connected with this one of the apple origin that needs inquiring into. Every one knows the Norse story of Balder the Beautiful, and of his death at the hand of the blind god Holdur, who, at Loki's malicious suggestion, shot him with an arrow of mistletoe. No one has been able to explain the myth of the death of Balder, but there have been various parallels drawn between the beautiful demi-god of the North and the equally beautiful Apollo among the Olympians : etymology has also been called in to explain Balder in terms of brightness and whiteness, and so to make him more or less a solar personage : but nothing very satisfactory has yet been arrived at. The Balder myth stands among the unsolved riddles of antiquity, complicated by various contradictory story-tellings, and apparently resisting a final explanation. Grimm was of the opinion that there was a Germanic Balder named Paltar, who corresponded to the Norse Balder, thus throwing the myth back into very early times indeed ; and he brought forward a number of considerations in support of his theory, of greater or less validity.

It has occurred to me that, perhaps, the Apel-dur, Apel-dre, and Appeldore, which we have been considering, may be the origin of Balder, and of the Paltar of Grimm's hypothesis, in view of the occurrence of the corresponding forms mentioned above in the Middle High Dutch. If, for instance, the original accent in *apple* (abál) is, as stated above, on the second syllable, then it would be easy for a primitive apál-dur to lose its initial vowel, and in that case we should not be very far from the form Balder, which would mean the apple-tree originally and nothing more. That the personified apple-tree should be killed by an arrow of mistletoe is quite in the manner of ancient myth-making ;¹ and the parallels which have sometimes been

¹ Or we may adopt a simpler explanation, viz. that the ancients had observed that the mistletoe does kill the tree on which it grows, a bit of popular mythology which has recrudesced in Mr. Kipling's *Pict Song* :—

Mistletoe killing an oak—
Rats gnawing cables in two—

The damage done by mistletoe to conifers in the N.W. of America is the subject of a paper by James R. Weir, Forest Pathologist to the United States.

suggested between Balder and Apollo would be not parallels but identities. Apollo would be Balder and Balder Apollo.

Leaving these speculations for the present on one side, we now come to the question of the relation between Artemis and Apollo, that which the later myth-makers expressed in the language of twin-cult. Was there any common ground of cult similar to that which we detected in the case of Dionysos and Apollo, where the coincidence in titles, in functions, in cult-usages and in sanctuaries, led us to the interpretation of the second god, like the first, in terms of a vegetable origin? It will be admitted that there is some similarity in titles, that Apollo is Phœbus and Artemis Phœbe, and that he is Hekatos, or implied as such in the titles given to him, and that Artemis is, if not exactly Hekaté, at all events very closely related to her. This does not, however, help us very much; it suggests sun and moon-cult for Artemis and Apollo, and it is admitted that the mistletoe introduced a solar element into the conception of Apollo: but the actual development of the solar and lunar elements, which made Apollo almost the counterpart of Helios, and Artemis of Selene, must be much later in date than the origins of which we are in search. We must, therefore, go in other directions if we are to find a cult-parallelism between the two deities. And the direction which promises real results is the following: it is quite clear that both Apollo and Artemis are witches, witch-doctors of the primitive type, who stand near the very starting-point of what becomes ultimately the medical profession. He is a personified *All-heal*, and to his primitive apparatus of mistletoe berries, bark and leaves, he has added a small number of simples, more or less all-heals, or patent medicines, which taken together constitute the garden of Apollo, the original apothecary's shop. It is quite possible that the very first medicine of the human race was the mistletoe, and it is surprising to note how tenaciously the human race has clung to its first all-heal. In this country, for example, we are told by Lysons that there was a great wood in the neighbourhood of Croyland (Norwood) which belonged to the archbishop, and was said to consist wholly of oak. Among the trees was one which bore mistletoe, which some persons were so hardy as to cut down, for the gain of selling it to the Apothecaries, in London, leaving a branch of it to sprout out; but they proved unfortunate after it, for one of

them fell lame, and others lost an eye.¹ It will be seen that the medical and magical value of mistletoe (and especially of oak-mistletoe, as the old herbals are careful to point out) has continued almost to our own time. If Apollo is a herbalist, as all the primitive leeches were, and had a medical garden, it seems quite clear that Artemis was also in the herbal profession, and that she also had a garden of her own, in which certain plants grew, whose power of healing and persistence in human use have continued down to our own times. This we must now proceed to prove, for if we establish this parallelism, we shall know why Apollo and Artemis are brother and sister, and we shall presently be able to track the latter as we did the former, to her vegetable origin.

The first thing to be done is to prove that they both belong to the medical profession : the next to examine the pharmacopoeia of each one of them. In fact we have done this pretty thoroughly for Apollo : where is the proof that Artemis graduated in medicine, and what were the means of healing that she employed ?

The first direction of inquiry suggested by the Apollo Cult for the Artemis Cult is to ask whether there is any magic herb (magical being understood as a term parallel with medical, and almost coincident with it in meaning) which will rank, either for medicine or for magic, along with the well-known *All-heal* of Apollo, the mistletoe. Suppose we turn to a modern book on "Flowers and Flower-Lore"² we shall find the author discoursing of the virtues of St. John's wort as "a safeguard against witchcraft, tempest, and other demoniacal evils". In fact, the plant is an *All-heal*: in Devonshire, the wild variety of the plant is known as tutsan, or titsan, which is the French *tout-sain*. We used to gather the leaves when we were children and place them in our Bibles. Its medical value can be seen from its occurrence in old-time recipes. For instance, here is one which begins thus :—

"Take . . . french mallows, the tops of tutsans, plantin leaves, etc."³ Or look in Parkinson's "Herbal," and you will find a section devoted to *Tutsan*, and another to St. John's wort, which is

¹ Quoted in Friend, "Flowers and Flower-Lore," I. 305.

² Friend, "Flowers and Flower-Lore," I. 74, 75.

³ Lewer, "A Book of Simples," p. 186.

identified with the *Hypericon* of Dioscorides, and accredited with all kinds of virtues. So we are in the old Greek medical garden with St. John's wort.

The writer referred to above goes on to speak of the magical value of the mistletoe which "might well share with St. John's wort the name of Devilfuge". "*Another plant possessed, according to popular belief, of the power of dispelling demons is the well-known mugwort or wormwood*, which on account of its association with the ceremonials of St. John's Eve (Midsummer Eve) was also known on the Continent as St. John's Herb . . . or St. John's Girdle. Garlands were made at that season of the year composed of white lilies, birch, fennel, St. John's wort, and *Artemisia* or wormwood, different kinds of leaves, and the claws of birds. These garlands, thus comprising seven different kinds of material, were supposed to be possessed of immense power over evil spirits."

The writer, unfortunately, does not give the detailed authority for his statements; but as regards the magic powers of the mugwort or *Artemisia*, we shall be able abundantly to verify the statements. Every herbal will say something about it: and we have, therefore, reached the point of discovering that there was a plant of immense magical and medical value, named after Artemis herself, and which must, therefore, be accredited to her garden, in the same way as we credited the mistletoe and the peony to the garden of Apollo. We note in passing that the plant *Hypericon* (St. John's wort) has also to be reckoned with as a part of the ancient pharmacopoeia, and that a place ought to be found for it somewhere. As to the magic garlands that are spoken of, it is quite likely that they also will turn out to be ancient; in which case observe that even when composed of flowers, they are not flower-garlands in our sense of the term, but prophylactics. The distinction may be of importance—for instance, in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, we find the hero of the play making a garland for his goddess. Here is the language in which he dedicates it, in Mr. A. S. Way's translation :—

For thee this woven garland from a mead
Unsullied have I twined, O Queen, and bring.
There never shepherd dares to feed his flocks,
Nor steel of sickle came: only the bee
Roveth the springtide mead undesecrate :

And Reverence watereth it with river-dews.
 They which have heritage of self-control
 In all things, purity inborn, untaught,
 These there may gather flowers, but none impure.

Evidently the mead of which Hippolytus speaks was “a sealed garden” belonging to initiates : the shepherd would not dare to come in : no iron is allowed within its limits :¹ iron and magic are enemies ; may we not assume that the garden in question is the garden of Artemis herself ? One wishes much that Euripides had told us what were the plants and flowers that went to make up the garland, and whether one of them was the Artemisia.

If we have not a detailed description in this case, we are better placed in the companion garden of Hekaté, if that be really different from the garden of Artemis, at this period of religious evolution ; for we have already pointed out the close connection of Apollo, Artemis, and Hekaté. As regards the medical garden of Hekaté, we are, as I have said, better placed for an exact determination. The Orphic “Argonautica” describe the visit of Medea to the garden in question, and tell us what sort of a place it was : here are some of the lines :—

ἐν δέ σφιν πυμάτῳ μυχῷ ἔρκεος ἄλσος ἀμείβει,
 δένδρεσιν εὐθαλέεσσι κατάσκιον, φὲ ἐνὶ πολλαῖ
 δάφναι τ’ ἡδὲ κρανεῖαι ἵδ’ εὐμήκεις πλατάνιστοι·
 ἐν δὲ πόαι ρίζησι κατηρεφέες χθαμαλῆσιν,
 ἀσφόδελος, κλύμενός τε, καὶ εὐώδης ἀδίαντος,
 καὶ θρύνον ἡδὲ κύπειρον, ἀριστερέων τε ἀνεμώνη,
 ὅρμινόν τε, καὶ εἰρύσιμον, κυκλαμίς τ’ ἰοειδής,
 μανδραγόρης, πόλιόν τ’, ἐπὶ δὲ ψαφαρὸν δίκταμνον,
 εἰνδύμός τε κρόκος, καὶ κάρδαμον· ἐν δὲ ἄρα κῆμος,
 σμῆλαξ, ἡδὲ χαμαίμηλον, μήκων τε μέλαινα,
 ἀλκείη, πάνακες, καὶ κάρπασον, ἡδὲ ἀκόνιτον,
 ἄλλα τε δηλήνετα κατὰ χθόνα πολλὰ πεφύκει.²

Here then, the writer of the poem has pictured for us the witch’s garden as it should be : there are trees, such as the laurel, the cornel, and the plane : there is asphodel, convolvulus (?), the maiden-hair, the rush, the cyperus, the vervain (?), the anemone, the horminus, the erysimon, the cyclamen, the stoechas, the peony, the polyknemos, the

¹ Cf. the practice of the Druids in cutting the mistletoe or in gathering (*sine ferro*) the plant *selago*, as described by Pliny, “H.N.,” XXIV. 62.

² Orph., “Argonaut.,” 915 ff.

mandrake, the polion, the dictamnys, the crocus, the cardamon, the kēmos, the smilax, the camomile, the black poppy, the alcea, the mistletoe (?), the flax, the aconite, and other baneful plants.

No doubt this as a Greek medical garden of a late period, but it shows what a garden of Hekaté was imagined to be by the author ; and it is instructive. It is composed of roots and banes, and of flowers whose medical value we can verify from other quarters. The mistletoe must surely be the *All-heal* covered by πάνακες;¹ it and the peony and the laurel come from Apollo's garden ; the smilax is borrowed from Dionysos, the vervain and mandrake are well-known in witchcraft : the dictamnys is related in some way to Artemis, for one of Artemis' names is taken from Dictynna (Dictamnos) in Crete, and the medicine is used for Artemis' own department, the delivery of women in child-birth, of which more presently.

We can thus form an idea of the herb-garden of antiquity : it was really more a root-garden than an herb-garden. When Sophocles describes the operation of Medea and her companions, apparently in these very gardens of Hekaté, he gives to the play the title of *oi ριζοτόμοι*, the Root-cutters. The root is either for medicine or for magic, and as we have said there was no sharp line drawn between the two. Supposing, then, that on the analogy of the gardens of Apollo and Hekaté, and in harmony with the language of Hippolytus to his goddess, we say that Artemis had a garden, we may be sure that the mugwort² was there. We must certainly look more carefully into the virtues of a plant so closely linked by name with the goddess.

Before doing so, we may mention in passing that both Hekaté and Artemis, who is so nearly related to her, used to grow in their gardens a famous magical plant which had the witch's power of opening locks. This flower is called the *spring-wurzel* (or *spring-wort*), in the literature of Teutonic peoples, and everywhere there are strange and wonderful stories about it. It appears to have been under the protection of the Thunder, in the person of the wood-pecker. The plant was wanted by Medea in order to make the way

¹ This is not quite certain ; there are a number of all-heals beside the mistletoe.

² The English name *mugwort* is merely *fly-plant* ; cf. Engl. *midge*, Germ. *Mücke*.

for Jason to find the golden fleece, in one of the poems of the Argonaut legend. The person who had it could say

Open locks
Whoever knocks.

Now it seems certain that Artemis as well as Hekaté had this magic plant: for among her many titles corresponding to many functions and powers, she is called *κλειδοῦχος*, she that has the key. Thus in the opening Orphic Hymn to Hekaté, she is described as

παντὸς κόσμου κλειδοῦχον ἄνασσαν

and in the very next hymn, Prothyraea, the goddess of the portal, is addressed as *κλειδοῦχος* and as

"Αρτεμις εἰλείθυια καὶ εὐσέμνη Προθυρά,

along with many epithets addressed to Artemis as the woman's helper in travail. We point out, therefore, in passing that the spring-wort, which gave the possessor the entrée everywhere, was also a plant in the garden of Artemis.

We are now able to see, from the combination of magic with medicine, and the difficulty of imagining them apart in early times, the reason for that curious feature in the character of Artemis and her brother, which makes them responsible for sending the very diseases which they are able to cure. It is magic that causes diseases, magic as medicine that heals them. If the god or goddess is angry, we may expect the former, if they are propitiated, we look for the latter. The myths will tell us tales of Apollo and Artemis under either head. If women in actual life have troubles, Macrobius¹ will tell us that they are Artemis-struck, *ἀρτεμιδοβλήτους*, which is not very different from witch-overlooked, as it occurs in the West of England: yet this very same Artemis will be appealed to when the time of feminine trouble is at hand!²

Our next step is to go to the herbals and find out what they say of the properties of the medical plants that we may be discussing, and

¹ "Sat." I. 17, 11.

² That is always the way with witches; cf. Hueffer, "The Book of Witches," p. 280: "In the capacity of the witch as healer and conversely as disease-inflicter, her various spells must cover all the ills that flesh is heir to. She must be able to cure the disease she inflicts."

determine how far they reproduce the beliefs of primitive times. The task is not without interest ; one of the first things that come to light is the astonishing conservatism of the herbalists, who repeat statements one from another without correction or sensible modification, statements which can be traced back to Pliny or Dioscorides and even earlier, and which, when we have them in the form in which they are presented by Pliny or Dioscorides, are easily seen to be a traditional inheritance from still earlier times. Pliny, in fact, used the herbals of his day, much as Culpeper and Gerarde used Dodonaeus. Even when the herbalists are professing to be progressive, and throwing about their charges of superstition against those who preceded them, there is not much perceptible progress about them. Gerarde is often found using the language of the rationalist, and is doing his best to let the light of accurate science fall on his page, but Gerarde himself relates to us how he himself saw, with "the sensible and true avouch of his own eyes," that brant-geese were produced from the shells of barnacles, and gives us a picture of the actual occurrence of this feat of evolution ; it was a story which, if I remember rightly, Huxley employed in his discussion of the evidence for miracles. Culpeper, too, denounces superstition roundly and cries to God against it ; but he denounces also the Royal College of Surgeons and colours all his medical theories with the doctrine of signatures and the influence of the planets. No medicine for him without astrology, which he treats with the same assurance as a modern doctor would have as to the influence of microbes. In reality, we ought to be thankful for the limitations which we at once detect in the herb-doctors ; their traditionalism is just what we want ; it is the folk-lore of medicine, and like folk-lore generally our surest guide to the beliefs and practices of primitive man.

Let us then see what the herb-doctor Culpeper has to say on the subject of the mugwort : he begins with a description of the plant and then intimates the places where it may be found, as that "it groweth plentifully in many places of this Land, by the water-sides, as also by small water-courses, and in divers other places". The time of its flowering and seeding is then given. Then follows the "government and virtues" of the plant. The government means the planet that rules the plant and the sign of the Zodiac that it is under. Then we have the following virtues : "Mugwort is with good success put among other

herbs that are boiled for women to sit over the hot decoction, to draw down their courses, to help the delivery of their birth, and expel the after-birth. As also for the destructions and inflammations of the mother [sc. matrix]. It breaketh the stone and causeth one to make water where it is stopped. The Juyce thereof made up with myrrh, and put under as a pessary, worketh the same effects and so doth the root also."

He continues with the effect of the herb to remove tumours and wens, and to counteract over-dosing with opium, but it is evident that, according to Culpeper, it is a woman's medicine meant for women's complaints, even if it should have occasionally a wider reference. We begin to see the woman-doctor Artemis operating with the women's medicine Artemisia. But where did Culpeper get all this from? And how far back does this chapter of medical science go?

Here is another great English herbal, the "Theatrum Botanicum" of Parkinson. He arranges the matter very much as in Culpeper, but with more detail and learning. First he describes the plant *Artemisia vulgaris*, or common mugwort. Then he says where it is to be found, much as in Culpeper. After this he has to discourse on the meaning of the name, which I transcribe:—

"It is called in Greek Ἀρτεμίσια, and Artemisia in Latin also, and recorded by Pliny that it took the name of *Artemisia* from Artemisia the wife of *Mausolus*, King of Caria; when as formerly it was called *Parthenis*, quasi *Virginalis* Maidenwort, and as Apuleius saith, was also called *Parthenium*; but others think it took its name from Ἀρτεμίς, who is called *Diana*, because it is chiefly applied to women's diseases. The first (kind of Artemisia) is generally called of all writers *Artemisia* and *vulgaris*, because it is the most common in all countries. Some call it *mater herbarum*. . . ." Here we have some really ancient tradition taken from Pliny, from Dioscorides, and others. The plant is traced to Artemis; its virtue consists in its applicability to the diseases of women and, most important of all, it is the mother of all medical herbs.

Parkinson then goes on to the virtues of the plant, beginning with the statement that "Dioscorides saith it heateth and extenuateth," after which we have very nearly the same story of its medical uses as in Culpeper. He continues, "It is said of Pliny that if a traveller binde

some of the hearbe with him, he shall feele no weariness at all in his journey ; as also that no evill medicine or evill beast shall hurt him that hath the hearbe about him". Here we are in the region of pure magic and begin to suspect the reason why Artemis is the patron of the travellers, and why she is said to tame wild beasts. Parkinson remarks upon these opinions as follows :—

" Many such idle superstitions and irreligious relations are set down, both by the ancient and later writers, concerning this and other plants, which to relate were both unseemly for me, and unprofitable for you. I will only declare unto you the idle conceit of some of our later days concerning this plant, and that is even of Bauhinus¹ who glorieth to be an eye-witness of his foppery, that upon St. John's eve there are coales [which turn to gold] to be found at mid-day, under the rootes of mugwort, which after or before that time are very small or none at all, and are used as an amulet to hang about the necke of those that have the falling-sickness, to cure them thereof. But oh ! the weak and fraile nature of man ! which I cannot but lament, that is more prone to beleieve and relye upon such impostures, than upon the ordinance of God in His creatures, and trust in His providence."

We could have done profitably with less of Parkinson's pious rationalism and more of the superstitions that he deplores and occasionally condescends to describe.

Now let us try the herbal of John Gerarde. This is earlier than Parkinson's "Theater" which dates from 1640. The first edition is published in 1597, the second, with enlargements and corrections by Johnson, is dated 1633. The copy in my possession is the latter, from which accordingly I quote.

First he describes the plant which he calls *Artemisia, mater Herbarum*, common mugwort, then says where it is to be found, and when ; then comes the dissertation on the name, nearly as above, which I transcribe :—

" Mugwort is called in Greek Ἀρτεμίσια ; and also in Latine *Artemisia*, which name it had of *Artemisia*, Queen of Halicarnassus, and wife of noble *Mausolus*, King of Caria, who adopted it for her own herbe ; before that it was called *Parthenis* as *Pliny*

¹ Bauhinus, "De Plantis a divis sanctisve nomen habentibus," 1591, and "Prodromus Theatri Botanici," 1620.

writeth. *Apuleius* affirmeth that it was likewise called *Parthenion*; who hath very many names for it, and many of them are placed in Dioscorides among the bastard names; most of these agree with the right *Artemisia*, and divers of them with other herbes, which now and then are numbered among the mugworts: it is also called *Mater Herbarum*; in high Dutch, *Beifuss*, and *Sant Johans Gurtell*; in Spanish and Italian, *Artemisia*; in Low Dutch, *Bijvoet*, *Sint Jans Kruyt*; in English *Mugwort* and common *Mugwort*." Then comes a note on the temperature of the plant:—

"Mugwort is hot and dry in the second degree, and somewhat astringent."

After this follow the virtues: beginning with "Pliny saith that Mugwort doth properly cure women's diseases" as we had noted above; details are given, nearly as in Parkinson, after which Gerarde concludes by saying that "Many other fantastical devices invented by poets are to be seene in the workes of the ancient writers, tending to witchcraft and sorcerie, and the great dishonour of God: wherefore I do of purpose omit them, as things unworthy of my recording or your reading," which is evidently what Parkinson has been drawing on. Bad luck to them both!

It must not be supposed that all these writers have verified for themselves what Pliny and Dioscorides or the rest say: they commonly transfer references from one to another. The value of the repeated statements lies in the evidence which the repetition furnishes of the constancy of the beliefs and practices involved.

Suppose we now try the herbals of a century earlier, those which belong to the period immediately following the invention of printing. I have examined several of these early book rarities in the Rylands Library in order to see whether they say the same as the great English herbals. Here, for instance, is the "*Hortus Sanitatis*,"¹ published in Mainz in 1491; the description of *Artemisia* and its virtues is as follows:—

Arthemisia. Ysido (i.e. Isidore) Arthemisia est herba dyane a gentibus consecrata unde et nuncupata. Diana siquidem grece artemis dicitur. Pli. li. xxv. (i.e. Pliny, bk. xxv.) Arthemisiam quae autem parthenis vocabatur ab arthemide cognominatam sicut

¹ This is merely a Latin translation of "Garden of Hygieia".

quidam putant. Etiam dicitur Arthemisia quoniam sic vocabatur uxor regis masolei qui voluit eam sic vocari quae antea, ut inquit plinius, parthenis vocabatur. et sunt qui ab arthemide arthemisiam cognominatam putant. quoniam privatum medicatur feminarum malis. Dyoscorides. Arthemisia tria sunt genera. Unum est quod vocatur Arthemisia monodos (l. *monoclos*), i.e. mater herbarum quae est fruticosa et similis absinthio : folia majora et pinguiora habens et hastas longas. nascitur in maritimis locis et lapidosis. florescit autem estatis tempore floribus albis. arthemisia tagetes (l. *taygetes*) nominatur. quae tenera est semen habens minutum et ynam hastam folii plenam. Nascitur in locis mediterraneis et altioribus. florem mellinum atque tenuem et iocundiores comparatione prioris ferens. Haec a grecis vocatur tagetes (i.e. *taygetes*) vel tanacetum. Et nos in lingua latina vocamus eam thanasiā. vel secundum quosdam athanasiā. Et est tercia arthemisia que leptafilos dicitur. nascitur circa fossas et agros. flosculum eius si contriveris samsuci odorem habet. et ipsa amara. Has species arthemisie dyanem dicunt invenisse et virtutes eorum et medicamina chironi centauro tradidisse. Haec herba ex nomine dyane quae artemis dicitur accepit nomen arthemisia quae calefacit et siccatur. Ga. sim. fac. ca. d. arthemisia. (i.e. Galen in the chapter of *de simp. fac.* on artemisia). Arthemisia duplex quidem est herba. ambae tamen calefaciunt mediocriter et siccant. . . .”

So much for the description of the plant as given in the “Hortus Sanitatis”: and we can already see that we are getting fresh information. The first kind of Artemisia is called *monoclos* which is apparently a corruption of a Greek word *μονόκλωνος*, meaning that the plant grows on a single stem; the second is twice over described as *taygetes*, which can only refer to the mountain in Laconia (Mt. Taygetus) which is more than any other district sacred to Artemis. The writer does not, however, know any Greek: he says he is working from Dioscorides, but he appears to confuse the tansy (tanacetum) with the Artemisia, and says that its Latin name is Athanasia! The reference to Mt. Taygetus is of the first importance, for if the plant is found there, then the presence of Artemis in the mountain is due to the plant, and Artemis is the plant. Last of all, the writer has a third variety which Diana is said to have discovered and confided to the centaur Chiron. We must evidently follow up these links of the plant with the goddess and see where they take us.

The writer then goes on to describe in detail the virtues of the plants, and it will be useful to follow him in detail.

Operationes.

A. Dyas (i.e. Dioscorides) Arthemisia virtutem habet acerrimam purgativam attenuantem calidam et leptinticam.

B. Elixatura eius causas mulieris mitigat. menstruis imperat. secundinas excludit. mortuos infantes in utero deponit. constrictiones matricis resolvit. omnes tumores spargit. accepta calculos frangit. urinam provocat. herba ipsa tunsa et in umbilico posito menstruis imperat.

C. Succus eius mirre (i.e. myrrhae) mixtus et matrici suppositus omnia similiter facere novit.

D. Coma eius sicca bibita. z.iii. stericas (i.e. hystericas) causas componit.

E. Si quis iter faciens eam secum portaverit non sentiet itineris laborem.

F. Fugat etiam demonia in domo posita. Prohibet etiam maledicamenta et avertit oculos malorum.

G. Item ipsa tunsa cum axungia et superposita pedum dolorem ex itinere tollit.

H. Arthemisia quae taygetes vocatur facit ad vesicae dolorem et stranguriam succo dato ex vino. z.ii.

I. Febricanti ex aqua ea ciatis (l. cyathus) duas potui datur.

K. Succus tunsa cum axungia et aceto coxarum dolori medicatur ligata usque in tertium diem.

L. Ut infantem hilarem facias incende et suffumigabis et omnes incusiones malorum avertet. et hilariorem faciet infantem. nervorum dolorem et tumorem trita cum oleo bene subacta mirifice sanat.

M. Dolorem pedum gravitatis radicem eius da cum melle manducare et ita sanabitur ut vix credi posset eam tantam virtutem habere.

N. Succo eius cum oleo rosarum febriens perunctus curatur ea. Hanc herbam si confricaveris lasaris odorem habet.

O. Galienus. Ambae species arthemisiae convenient lapidibus in renibus existentibus et ad calefactioes et extractiones secundarum (l. secundinarum).

When we read through this list of virtues and operations, we see

the origin of many things in the later herbals. It is quite clear that to the author of the *Hortus Sanitatis* the herb in question was women's medicine. We might roughly group the operations as follows :—

Women's medicine.	B.C.D.O.
Child's medicine.	L.
Pains in the feet.	E.G.M.
Vesicary troubles.	H.O.
Fevers.	I.N.
Pains in the hips.	K.
Magical values.	E.F.

It is clear that the real value of the herb lies in its influence upon women and children and upon travellers, and in the power as an amulet. The reason for its connection with travellers does not yet appear : the other curative and prophylactic qualities are thoroughly Artemisian. Especially interesting is the appearance of Artemis as the one that takes care of the baby, the *κουροτρόφος*. We are evidently coming nearer to the source of the magic and of the medicine.

Now let us see what Dioscorides says about the plant, since it is clear that the herbals in part derive from him ; the *Artemisia* is described in Dioscorides, "De materia medica," lib. III. cap. 117, 118.

117. Ἀρτεμίσια ἡ μὲν πολύκλωνος, ἡ δὲ μονόκλωνος . . . ἡ μὲν πολύκλωνος φύεται ώς τὸ πολὺ ἐν παραθαλασσίοις τόποις, πόσια θαμνοειδῆς, παρόμοιος ἀψινθίῳ, μείζων δὲ καὶ λιπαρώτερα τὰ φύλλα ἔχουσα· καὶ ἡ μέν τις αὐτῆς ἔστιν εὐερνής, πλατύτερα ἔχουσα τὰ φύλλα καὶ τοὺς ράβδους· ἡ δὲ λεπτότερα, ἄνθη μίκρα, λεπτά, λευκά, βαρύσσμα· θέρους δὲ ἀνθεῖ·

"Ενιοι δὲ τὸ ἐν μεσογείοις λεπτόκαρπον, ἀπλοῦν τῷ καυλῷ, σφόδρα μικρόν, ἄνθους περίπλεων κηροειδῶν τῇ χροίᾳ· λεπτοῦ καλοῦσιν ἀρτεμισίαν μονόκλωνον· ἔστι δὲ εὐωδεστέρα τῆς πρὸ αὐτῆς.

'Αμφότεραι δὲ θερμαίνουσι καὶ λεπτύνουσιν· ἀποζευνύμεναι δὲ ἀρμόζουσιν εἰς γυναικεῖα ἐγκαθίσματα πρὸς ἀγωγὴν ἐμμήνων καὶ δευτέρων καὶ ἐμβρύων, μύσιν τε καὶ φλεγμονὴν τῆς ύστερας καὶ θρύψιν λίθων καὶ ἐποχὴν οὔρων. ἡ δὲ πόσια κατὰ τοῦ ἥτρου καταπλασθεῖσα πολλή, ἐμμηνα κινεῖ· ὁ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς χύλος λεανθεὶς σὺν σμύρνῃ, καὶ προστεθείς, ἀγει ἀπὸ μήτρας, ὅσα καὶ

τὸ ἐγκάθισμα· καὶ ποτίζεται ἡ κόμη πρὸς ἀγωγὴν τῶν αὐτῶν.
πλῆθος<γ.

118. Ἀρτεμίσια λεπτόφυλλος ἡτις γεννᾶται περὶ ὁχέτους καὶ φραγμοὺς καὶ εἰς χώρας σπορίμους· τὸ ἄνθος οὖν αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ φύλλα τριβόμενα ὀσμὴν ἀποδίδωσι σαμψύχουν. εἰ οὖν τις πονεῖ τὸν στόμαχον, καὶ κόψει τὴν βοτάνην ταύτης μετὰ ἀμυγδαλίνου ἔλαιον καλῶς, καὶ ποιήσει ὡς μάλαγμα καὶ θήσει ἐπὶ τὸν στόμαχον, θεραπευθήσεται. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ νεῦρά τις πονεῖ, τὸν χύλον ταύτης μετὰ ρόδινου ἔλαιου μίξει, θεραπευθήσεται.

A careful comparison of these passages of Dioscorides will show that almost every sentence has been transferred to the herbals. The prominence of the woman's medicine in Dioscorides is most decided. The magical qualities do not appear in this passage, nor is there any reference to Mt. Taygetus. The plant grows, according to Dioscorides, by runnels, and in hedges and ditches and fields. The same prominence of the woman-medicinal factor appears in the description given by Pliny in his "Natural History" (xxv. 36) as follows:—

"Mulieres quoque hanc gloriam affectavere: in quibus Artemisia uxor Mausoli, adopta herba, quae antea parthenis vocabatur. Sunt quae ab Artemide Ilithyia cognominatam putant, quoniam privatim medeatur feminarum malis, etc."

These sentences also can be traced in the herbals. It is quite likely that Pliny is right in giving the plant the alternative name of "maid's medicine," though we need not trouble further about Artemisia, the wife of Mausolus. She is an obvious after-thought.

That the mugwort has continued as a maid's medicine to our own time may be seen by a pretty story which Grimm quotes from R. Chambers,¹ but without seeing the bearing of the tale.

"A girl in Galloway was near dying of consumption, and all had despaired of her recovery, when a mermaid, who often gave people good counsel, sang:—

Wad ye let the bonnie may die i' your hand,
And the mugwort growing in the land!

They immediately plucked the herb, gave her the juice of it, and she was restored to health. Another maid had died of the same disease,

¹ Grimm, "Teut. Myth." Eng. tr. III. 1211; R. Chambers, "Pop. Rhymes," p. 331; Swainson, "Weather Folk-Lore," p. 60.

and her body was being carried past the port of Glasgow, when the mermaid raised her voice above the water and in slow accents cried :—

If they wad *nettles* drink in March,
And eat *muggons* in May,
Sae mony braw maidens
Wad na gang to the clay."

So it appears that the plant continued as a maid's medicine in Scotland till recent times.

We have now accumulated enough material, or nearly so, to enable us to decide on the relation between Artemis and Artemisia.

It is clear that it is one of the oldest of medicines : *it is the mother of herbs* ; in that respect it ranks with the peony, of which Pliny says ("H.N." xxv. 11) that it is the oldest of medical plants.¹ It is also clear that it is first and foremost women's medicine, and this must be the principal factor in determining the relation between the woman's goddess and the woman's pharmacopœia.

Amongst the special places where the plant is found we have mention of Mt. Taygetus, after which one of the principal varieties of the plant appears to have been named. Now Mt. Taygetus is known from Homer to be the haunt of Artemis, e.g. "Od." vi. 102, 3 :—

οἴη δ' Ἀρτεμις εἰσιν κατ' οὔρεος ιοχέαιρα,
ἡ κατὰ Τηγυετον περιμήκετον ἡ Ἐρύμανθον.

Or we may refer to Callimachus' hymn to Artemis, in which the poet asks the goddess her favourite island, harbour, or mountain ; and makes her reply that she loves Taygetus best :—

τίς δέ νύ τοι νήσων, ποῖον δ' ὄρος εὐαδε πλεῖστον ;
τίς δὲ λιμήν ; ποίη δὲ πόλις ; τίνα δ' ἔξοχα νυμφέων
φῖλαο, καὶ ποίας ἥρωτδας ἔσχες ἐτάίρας ;
εἰπε, θεά, σὺ μὲν ἀμμῦν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτέροισιν ἀείσω.
Νήσων μὲν Δολίχη, πολίων δέ τοι εὐαδε Πέργη.
Τηγυετον δ' ὄρέων, λιμένες γε μὲν Εύριποιο.

If, then, the plant is found on the mountain, then it is the plant that loves the mountain, and not Artemis in the first instance ; or rather, *the plant is Artemis and Artemis is the plant*. Artemis is a woman's goddess and a maid's goddess, because she was a woman's medicine and a maid's medicine. If the medicine is good at

¹ *Vetustissima inventu Paeonia est, nomenque auctoris retinet.*

child-birth, then the witch-doctress who uses it becomes the priestess of a goddess, and the plant is projected into a deity, just as in the cases previously studied of Dionysos and Apollo.

If the plant is good for the rearing of beautiful and happy children, then the person who uses it is a *κουροτρόφος*, which is one of the titles of Artemis. So far, then, the problem is solved ; we can restore the garden of Artemis, and give the chief place in it to the common mugwort who is the vegetable original of the goddess.

This does not explain everything, it raises some other questions : we have not shown why Artemis became a goddess of the chase ; nor have we shown why the plant Artemisia is good for travellers and keeps them from having tired feet. Was this a real operation of the plant ? It is not easy to say. It is clear that the belief that mugwort had such virtue has been very persistent ; it is, to be sure, in Pliny, who tells us ("H.N." xxvi. 89) :—

"Artemisiam et eleisphacum alligatas qui habeat viator, negatur lassitudinem sentire."

From Pliny it may have passed into the herbals ; it is this faculty of never tiring that seems to be involved in the Teutonic name *beifuss*, and Grimm says the name is early, and quotes from Megenborg (385, 16) the statement that "he that has *beifuss* on him *wearies not on his way*". This may be from Pliny, but where did Pliny get it, and where did the name *beifuss* come from ?¹ The magical power of the herb is also a persistent folk-tradition and not merely a bit of medical lore. "Whoso hath *beifuss* in the house, him the devil may not harm ; hangs the root over the door, the house is safe from all things evil and uncanny."²

There is more investigation to be made in the interpretation of the tradition : but at all events we have found our spring-wort and opened the locked mythological door.

We know now why Apollo and Artemis were brother and sister, and why they became twins. They are the father and the mother respectively of Greek medicine. Their little gardens of simples were next door to one another.

¹ In Baden, the bride puts *beifuss* in her shoe, and a blossom of the plant on the wedding-table. See Wuttke, "Deutsche Volksberglaube," 133.

² Grimm, l.c.

Now let us indulge for a little the art of speculation, if we may do so without endangering results that have already been arrived at.

To begin with, does the discovery of the plant Artemis help us to the understanding of the meaning of the name of the goddess? We recall the fact that the road by which we reached our identification of the plant with the goddess had for its starting-point the personal relation between Apollo and Artemis. When Apollo was tracked to his appropriate vegetable, Artemis couldn't be very far off. Analogy may help us in the solution of the nomenclature; we are in the region of medicine; Apollo is the mistletoe, and its name is *All-heal*, it is the first and greatest of the line of patent medicines: may not the name of Artemis cover also some such meaning? The Homeric ἀρτεμής, *safe and sound*, would perhaps meet the requirements of nomenclature for a healing plant. A more doubtful solution has been proposed by some writers on mythology, to take a derivation from the intensive prefix ἀπι—attached to the name of Themis; thus Ἀρτεμίς = ἀριθέμις = very right, almost as if we had discovered an *all-right* to go with the *all-heal*. The true solution does not seem to have been yet reached.

Now for another point. We have discovered a great god and a great goddess of medicine, witch-doctor, and witch-doctress with appropriate vegetable emblems and origins. We have tried to reconstruct *ab initio* the gardens of herbs from which every existing pharmacy is evolved; and we have acted on the supposition that primitive medicine was herbalism and nothing more. The question arises whether we have not gone too far in excluding altogether the presence of animal and mineral medicines. When Shakespeare's witches make medicine for Macbeth, a main part of the ingredients of the charmed pot are animal:—

Toad that under a cold stone
Days and nights hast thirty-one
Swelter'd venom sleeping got,
Boil thou first i' the charmed pot.

And so on. This must be sufficiently true to the witchcraft tradition to have verisimilitude. When did the toad and the tiger and the rest of the witches' larder become available for hag-work? To put it another way, if we take up the treatise of Dioscorides, "De materia medica," we find that in the second book he treats of animals, oils,

odours, unguents, and when we come near the end of the fifth book that we are introduced to a section *De metallicis omnibus* in which metals and their oxides are described and estimated medically, after the fashion of the four books of more or less botanical medicine which have preceded. Various products of rust, lime, and corals and sponges are introduced. Medicine was not merely herbal to Dioscorides, as we may see further on reference to the remedies proposed in his treatise *περὶ εὐπορίστων*.

It is, however, Pliny that tells us in the most convenient form what really went on. When he comes to his twenty-eighth book he tells us plainly that he has exhausted the herbals and that a larger medicine is to be found in animals and in man. The blood of gladiators, the brains of babies, and every part of the human body have their medical value, down to his spittle which is a protection against serpents, and the hair of his head which can be used to ward off gout. And of course, if human medicine has been carried to such a degree in the extension of the pharmacy, the animals are not excluded, nor their parts and products. An elephant's blood cures rheumatism ; I wish some one would lend me a small elephant ! The elephant having been admitted to the drug-store, we may be sure the ant has not been left out. Pliny is often ashamed of the remedies which he reports, and confesses that they are abhorrent to the mind and only justified by the results. From his manner of treating the subject it seems clear that magic and cruelty and indecency have had a witch's revel in the surgery and the dispensary, and that the introduction of the animal remedies was not something of recent invention when Pliny wrote. So it is quite open to us to make the inquiry as to the extent to which the herb-garden opened into the farm-yard or the zoological garden. Did they really stop a toothache by the use of stag's horn, or find a medicine in a bone which lies hid in the heart of a horse ? Does a wolf's liver really cure a cough ? Who first discovered this admirable use to which a wolf can be put ? and who found out that bears cure themselves by the eating of ants' eggs, and taught us to do the same ?

In order to show the persistence of peculiar animal remedies I am going to take the case of the mouse. I propose to show that the mouse is medicine down to our own times, then that it was widely used as a medicine in Pliny's day ; after which I shall conjecture that it was a very early and primitive medicine.

We will begin with a recipe in a MS. book in my own possession, the still-room book of Mistress Jane Hussey, of Doddington Hall : the MS. is dated in 1692. In this MS. we are advised that "Fry'd mice are very good to eat. And mice flead and dry'd to powder, and the powder mixt with sugar-candy is very good for the chinn cough. You must flea the mice when you fry them. These I know to be good." If I remember rightly one of the herbalists denounces this medicine as a superstition. Anyway, there it is, and it would be ancient enough if we replaced sugar-candy by honey, which is the pharmacist's sweetener of ancient times. We may compare with it the use of mice as medicine in the Lebanon at the present day to cure ear-ache. Now did they use mouse-medicine in early times? Let us see what Pliny says :—

xxix. 39. The ashes of mice into which honey is dropped will cure earache. This is not very far from the powdered mice with sugar-candy in the Doddington MS. nor from the Lebanon custom. (If an insect has got into the ear use the gall of a mouse with vinegar.)

xxx. 21. There is medicine against calculus made of mouse-dung.

xxx. 23. Ulcers are cured by the ashes of a field-mouse in honey, and apparently, when burnt alive, they are good for ulcers on the feet.

Warts can be cured by the blood of a freshly killed mouse, or by the mouse itself if torn asunder.¹

If you want a sweet breath (xxx. 29) use as a tooth-powder mouse-ashes mixed with honey.

That will be enough to show that our seventeenth-century recipe is of the same kind, at all events, as those which were current in the first century ; and if this be so, may it not very well be the case that Apollo Smintheus, or the mouse-Apollo, is best explained by saying that the mouse was an early element in the healing art ? I know it is usual to explain the mouse-Apollo on the assumption that Apollo, as the Averter, had rid the country of a plague of field-mice, and that this is the reason why the mouse appears with Apollo on the coins of Alexandria Troas. My solution appears to be the more natural.

¹ Cf. Diosc. "De mat. med." B. 74: *Μύας τοὺς κατοικίδιους ἀνασχισθέντας . . . βρωθέντας δὲ ὅπτοὺς κτέ.*

Moreover, there is another reason for explaining the concurrence of Apollo and the mouse in this way. The mouse is not the only little animal that Apollo is interested in. Archæologists will remember the famous statue of Apollo Sauroktonos, where the god is in the act of catching a lizard. Now we have no reason to suppose that there was a plague of lizards ; on the other hand, we do know that the lizard has a very important place in medicine. For instance, Pliny will tell us that to cure sores (xxx. 12) you must bind a green lizard on you, and change it every thirty days. If you are a woman use the heart of a lizard : (xxx. 23) the blood of a green lizard is a cure for the feet of men and cattle : (xxx. 49) a lizard killed in a particular way is an anti-aphrodisiac : (xxx. 24) its head, or blood, or ashes will remove warts : (xxviii. 38) lizards are employed in many ways as a cure for the troubles of the eyes or (xxviii. 39) of the ears.

From all of which we conclude that the lizard is very ancient medicine, and may very well have been in the Apolline pharmacopeia.

Now let us try a similar inquiry for Artemis. We will begin again with the Doddington Book, and extract some swallow-medicines. For instance, there is a recipe for making "oyle of swallows" by pounding them alive with various herbs. Then there is

My Aunt Markam's swallow-water.

"Take forty or fifty swallows when they are ready to fly, bruise them to pieces in a morter, feathers and all together : you should put them alive into the mortar. Add to them one ounce of castorum in pouder, put all these into a still with three pints of white wine vinegar ; distill it as any other water, there will be a pint of very good water, the other will be weaker : you may give two or three spoonfuls at a time with sugar. This is very good for the passion of the mother, for the passion of the Heart, for the falling-sickness, for sudden sounding fits, for the dead Palsie, for Apoplexies, Lethargies, and any other distemper of the head, it comforteth the Braine, it is good for those that are distracted, and in great extremity of weakness, one of the best things that can be administered ; it's very good for convulsions." There is another similar remedy to Aunt Markham's in the book, which operates with "two doosen of Live swallows".

Evidently we have here the survival of a very ancient medicine ; its preparation is not a modern invention, except as regards the distil-

lation of the mixture ; and its comprehensiveness (for it is well on the road to being an all-heal) is also a mark of the early stages of the medical art. That Artemis is the patron of the swallow has been maintained : for instance, there is the story which Antoninus Liberalis tells (c. 11) from Boios, how she turned the maiden Chelidonia into a swallow, because she had called upon her in her virgin distress. This story, however, hardly proves of itself the point that we are after. The transformation comes in the midst of a number of other bird-changes, and need not carry any special meaning. If we could infer from it or from elsewhere that Artemis is patron of the swallow, we could easily go on to show from Pliny the prevalence of swallow-medicines in the same way that we found mouse-medicine and lizard-medicine ; and these swallow-medicines might be in the medical apparatus of Artemis. I have not, however, been able to make a consistent or a conclusive argument to this effect.

Amongst the plants that were in the garden of Artemis it seems clear that there was one marsh plant, whether it be the mugwort or not : for the title *Artemis Limnæa* or *Limnatis* is a well-known cult-expression. It must be old, too : for, by some confusion between *Limné* and *Limen* she came to be credited with the oversight of harbours, which, almost certainly, is not the function of the maid and woman's doctor. The expression *Artemis of the Harbour* seems to have had some diffusion, for, as we showed above, Callimachus asks the goddess which mountain she prefers, and which harbour she likes best. The most natural explanation of the Harbour goddess seems to be what we have suggested above.

The herbalists tell us to look for the plant by *runcells* and ditches, and some add (perhaps with Mt. Taygetus in mind) in stony places. We must try and find what the earliest of them say as to the habitat of the plant. If they mention marshes or lakes, then *Artemis Limnæa* is only another name for the *Artemisia*, or for some other plant in her herb-garden.

It is agreed on all hands that Artemis, in her earliest forms, is a goddess of streams and marshes : sometimes she is called the River-Artemis, or *Artemis Potamia* (see Pindar, "Pyth." II. 12), and sometimes she is named after swamps generally as *Limnæa*, the Lady of the Lake (Miss Lake), or *Heleia* (*Ἑλεία*) the marsh-maiden (Miss Marsh), or from some particular marsh, as *Stymphalos* (*Στυμφηλία*),

or special river as the Alpheios ('Αλφειαία). It seems to me probable that this is to be explained by the existence of some river or marsh plant which has passed into the medical use of the early Greek physicians. Artemis has been called the "Lady of the Lake," or "She of the Marsh"; that is a very good nomenclature for a magical marsh plant, as well as for the patroness of marshes and streams.

It is possible that there is a variety of the *Artemisia* which is peculiar to marsh-land. Pallas, in his "Voyages en différentes Provinces de Russie" (iv. 719), speaks of a variety "which is quite different from *Artemisia palustris*": but I do not see the latter name in Linnaeus. [I notice, however, that in the British Museum copy of Gmelin, *Flora Siberiaca*, II. 119, against *Artemisia herbacea* is a note in the handwriting of Sir Joseph Banks, *Artemisia palustris Linn.*]

Now that we have established the existence of the garden of herbs (medical and magic) belonging to Hekaté and Artemis, it is proper to ask a question whether the name of Artemis came to be applied to any other of the plants in the herbarium beside the mother-plant, the mugwort. There are certain things which suggest that the name Artemis could be used like an adjective with a number of nouns. It will be noticed that this is almost implied in the title *πολυώνυμος* which is given to Artemis in the Orphic hymns and elsewhere. The objection to this would be that other gods and goddesses are sometimes called *πολυώνυμος* without suggesting that they are adjectival in character to other objects. In the case of Artemis the suggested adjective appears to be applied not only to the plants in the herbarium which she governs, but to the diseases to which the plants serve as healers. Gruppe points out the traces of an Artemis Podagra, the herb that cures gout, and Artemis Chelytis, which seems to be a cough mixture!¹ There is one case of extraordinary interest in which

¹ He is quoting from Clem. Alex. *protr.*, pp. 32, 33, and Clement is quoting from Sosibius: it is not quite clear whether the goddess is the disease to be propitiated in the Roman manner, or whether she is thought of as governing it. The Artemis Cults in question are Spartan, and therefore can be thought of in medical terms, for Artemis was certainly the Healer in Laconia.

Mugwort is still in use in China in the treatment of gout, as may be seen in the following extract from a letter of Prof. Giles:—

"There is quite a 'literature' about *Artemisia vulgaris*. L., which

we can register the transfer of the name of the goddess to a particular plant. We have already drawn attention to the *spring-wort*, which opens all doors and has the entrée to all treasure chambers ; and we have shown that Artemis and Hekaté are called by the epithet *κλειδοῦχος*, the one that holds the key, and that Artemis shares this title with another shadowy goddess, a kind of double of her own, whose name is *Προθύραια*. My suggestion is that the epithet belongs to the spring-wort. Artemis holds the key because she is the spring-wort before which everything opens. If this can be made out for the origin, or rather for one of the first developments of the Artemis Cult (for we have given the first place to the mugwort), then we must, in view of the antiquity of this primitive medicine and these primitive and still widely spread superstitions, look for the same elements in the early Roman Cult. The Romans also must have believed in and honoured the spring-wort : it was not indeed their Diana who was *κλειδοῦχος*, it was the male counterpart and conjugate of Diana, viz. *Dianus* or *Janus*. One has only to recall the extraordinary antiquity of the Cult of Janus, and the position assigned to him as the opener and closer of all doors, and the genius of the opening year, and his actual representation as a key-bearer,¹ to justify us making a parallel between Janus with the keys, and Artemis (or Hekaté) *κλειδοῦχος*. The connection which the Latins make between Janus and *Janua* turns upon the same rights of ingress and egress. If Artemis is equated with *Προθύραια*, what are we to say to Macrobius² when he tells us that

apud nos Janum omnibus præesse januis nomen ostendit, quod est simile Θυραιῶ . . . omnium et portarum custos et rector viarum. He is almost called *Προθύραιος* in Diosc. (73, 13) where he is spoken of as

Tῷ Ἰάνῳ τῷ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν.

has been used in China from time immemorial for cauterizing as a counter-irritant, especially in cases of gout. Other species of *Artemisia* are also found in China."

¹ For the representation of Janus with the key (whether interpreted sexually or otherwise) see Ovid, "Fasti," I. 9. :—

Ille tenens baculum dextra, clavemque sinistra :

or Macrobius, "Sat." I. 9, 7 : cum clavi et virga figuratur.

² Macr., "Sat.," I. 9, 7.

The connection of Artemis and Prothyraea is not unnaturally interpreted in the light of the phenomena of conception and child-birth over which they both preside : but the very same functions, or almost the same, are assigned to Janus by the Latins. The following references are given by Roscher (s.v. "Janus," col. 36). Aug. "de civit. Dei," 7, 2 :—

Ipse primum Janus cum puerperium concipitur. . . . aditum aperit recipiendo semini.

Ibid. 6, 9. *Varro . . . enumerare deos cœpit a conceptione hominis, quorum numerum exorsus est a Jano.*

Ibid. 7, 3. *Illi autem quod aperitur conceptui non immerito adtribui : and for the key of Janus take*

Paul. ("Epit. ex Festo," 56, 6) : *clavim consuetudo erat mulieribus donare ob significandam partus facilitatem.*

Following the analogy between the two cults in question, that of the Roman Janus and the Greek Artemis, we are led to conclude that each of them is in one point of view a personification of the powers and qualities of the spring-wort. Nor shall we be surprised when we find that Janus turns up with Picus in the oldest stratum of Roman religion, for the tradition of folk-lore connects the woodpecker and the spring-wurzel, and has much to say as to the guardianship of the former over the latter ; the early stratum of folk-lore answering to an early stratum of religion, when the vegetable and bird-forms have become human.

The spring-wort is obtained in the following manner, as described by Grimm¹ :—

"The nest of a green or black woodpecker, while she has chicks, is closed tight with a wooden bung ; the bird, on becoming aware of this, flies away, knowing where to find a wonderful root which men would seek in vain. She comes carrying it in her bill, and holds it before the bung, which immediately flies out, as if driven by a powerful blow. Now if you are in hiding and raise a great clamour on the woodpecker's arrival, she is frightened, and lets the root fall. Some spread a white or red cloth under the nest, and then she will drop the root on that after using it."

Grimm goes on to quote from Conrad von Megenberg, who says

¹ "Teut. Myth." (Eng. tr.) III. 973.

that the bird is called in Latin *Merops*, and in German *bömheckel*, and that it brings a herb called *bömheckel-krut*, which it is not good for people generally to know of, as locks fly open before it. What is this mysterious herb which they call wonder-flower, key-flower, or spring-wurzel? The tradition is in Pliny (lib. 10, 18), “adactos cavernis eorum a pastore cuneos, admota quadem ab his herba, elabi creditur vulgo. Trebius¹ auctor est, clavum cuneumve adactum quanta libeat vi arbori, in qua nidum habeat, statim exilire cum crepitu arboris, cum insederit clavo aut cuneo.”

We can only say of this magic herb, this key-plant or key-flower, that it was Janus and related to Picus; its mythological name was Janus, its botanical name is unknown.

It will have been remarked in the course of the argument that, although we have a very strong case for relating the mugwort to the patronage of Artemis and for identifying the patroness with the plant, yet the descriptions given of the plant's habitat are, perhaps, not sufficiently precise to make us safe in identifying the mugwort with the Artemis Limnæa.

There is, however, another famous magical and medical plant of antiquity that may meet the case more exactly. In Friend's “Flowers and Flower-Lore”² we find the following description of the *Osmunda Regalis, or King Fern*: “No one who has seen this stateliest of ferns in its most favoured haunts—some sheltered Cornish valley, the banks of a rushing Dartmoor stream, or the wooded margin of Grasmere or Killarney:—

Plant lovelier in its own retired abode
On Grasmere's beach, than Naiad by the side
Of Grecian brook, or Lady of the Mere,
Sole sitting on the shores of old romance,

will doubt that its size and remarkable appearance . . . must always have claimed attention.”

Here we have the very title “Lady of the Lake” given by Wordsworth to the Osmunda Fern.³ This is very like to Artemis Limnæa. Let us see what the herbals say of the places where it is to be found. Parkinson says of it,⁴ “It groweth on moores, boggs, and watery

¹ c. 150 B.C. See Plin., “H.N.” ix. 89.

² I.c. i. 159. ³ “Poems on the Naming of Places,” IV.

⁴ “Theatrum Botanicum,” p. 1039.

places, in many places of this land. I took a roote thereof for my garden, from the bogge on Hampstead Heath, not far from a small cottage there."¹

It is not easy, however, to decide whether the Greek herbalists used the King Fern as distinct from other varieties. The ordinary fern is gathered religiously on Midsummer Eve, as Parkinson says, "with I know not what conjuring words," and fern-seed thus acquired is a very ancient medicine for producing invisibility, and for the discovery of treasure: but whether the same thing applies to the Osmunda is not clear. All that we have made out with certainty is that its habitat would suit an Artemis Limnæa, or Heleia, or Stymphalia. We need further light on the meaning of the gathering of the Midsummer fern, as well as the parallel rite of the finding of the St. John's wort, and we also want to know much more about the spring-wort. What was it? It is not easy to decide. Several of the magical plants of antiquity can open doors and locate treasure. As we have already stated it was employed by Artemis-Hekaté.

Here is another passage in the Orphic "Argonautica," which shows how closely Artemis and Hekaté were identified in the quest for the Fleece. Hekaté is described as follows:—

ἢν τέ νυ Κόλχοι
Ἄρτεμιν ἐμπυλίην κελαδόδρομον ἵλασκονται.

Here we note the title of "Our Lady of the Gate," which may be a description of her functions as birth-helper, but applies equally well to the more general power of opening gates and bars, such as is involved in the possession of the spring-wort: and certainly it must be this plant which is answerable for the following ll. 986 ff. :—

ἐν δ' ἄφαρ Ἀρτέμιδος φρούρον δέμας ἡκε χύμαζε
πεύκας ἐκ χειρῶν, ἐς δ' οὐρανὸν ἥραρεν ὅσσε.
σαῖνον δὲ σκυλακες πρόπολοι, λύοντο δ' ὁχῆες
κλείθρων ἀργαλέων, ἃνα δ' ἔπτατο καλὰ θύρετρα
τείχεος εύρυμενοῦς, ὑπεφαίνετο δ' ἄλσος ἐραννόν.

¹ The belief that the Osmunda was to be found on Hampstead Heath has come down to our own time. Mrs. Cook of Hampstead, mother of Mr. A. B. Cook, an old lady of eighty-six, knows the tradition well. She writes that she has herself seen it there: "I well remember seeing the Osmunda Regalis growing beside the 'Leg of Mutton' pond on Hampstead Heath, though I can't say whether it is there now, for I cannot go out to look".

Here the action is precisely that of the magical spring-wort. This may then be taken as having been in the possession of Artemis.

Artemis, then, may be regarded as a witch with a herb garden, the patroness of women's medicine and of women's magic. Her most powerful charms are the Artemisia (mugwort) and the spring-wort (not yet identified with certainty). She is content with the normal processes of nature over which she presides, and does not operate with philtres or artificial stimulants. Her magic is mainly protective. Its chief form consists in the plucking of the mugwort on St. John's Eve and wearing it in the girdle. For this reason the mugwort is called St. John's girdle; it was really Diana's girdle, or Our Lady's girdle. The Venetians call it "Herba della Madonna".¹

In Rutebeuf's "Dit de l'Herberie,"² we are told as follows:—

"Les fames en ceignent le soir de la S. Jehan et en font chapiaux seur lor chiez, et diete que goute ne avertins (i.e. neither gout nor epilepsy) ne les puet panre (i.e. atteindre) n'en chiez, n'en braz, n'en pie, n'en main."

The passage is interesting in that it shows that the Artemisian magic is protective in character, and also incidentally that one thing against which protection is obtained is the gout, which throws light on the meaning of Artemis Podagra to which we were referring previously. It must be taken to mean that she wards off the gout and other troubles. This protective magic obtained by herbs gathered on St. John's Eve can be illustrated from other plants besides the mugwort. The inhabitants of the island of Zante, for example, gather the vervain at the same time of the year, and "carry this plant in their cincture, as an amulet to drive away evil spirits, and to preserve them from various mischief".³

I think it can be shown that in certain cases the plants were not merely placed in the girdle, but actually made into a cincture. For instance, J. B. Thiers in his "Traité des Superstitions" gives a summary of practices condemned by the Church, including:—

Se ceindre de certaines herbes la viele de Saint Jean, précisément lorsque midi sonne, pour être préservé de toutes sortes de maléfices.

¹ Lenz, "Botanik u. mineralogie der alten Griechen u. Römer," p. 185.

² Rutebeuf, I. 257.

³ Walpole, "Memoirs of Travels in Turkey," p. 248.

Bertrand in "La Religion des Gaulois" (p. 408) quotes a correspondent's description of the Midsummer fires as practised in Creuse et Corrèzes : The fathers and mothers warm themselves at the bonfire, taking care to put round their middles a girdle of rye stalks. Aromatic plants are gathered by the young people, and kept throughout the year as specifics against sickness and thunder.

It will be remembered that in discussing the origin of the healing powers of Apollo, and locating them in the first instance in the mistletoe, we were able to show that this elementary medicine, without an external anthropomorph to preside over it, was still current among the Ainu of Japan, who regard the mistletoe as an Allheal, after the manner of the Celtic Druids. From the same quarter, or nearly the same, comes the interesting verification of the correctness of our belief in the primitive sanctity of the vegetables that became respectively Dionysos and Artemis.

We learn from Georgi, the editor of eighteenth-century travels in Siberia, and author of a book entitled "Description de toutes les nations de l'Empire de Russie," that "*the pine-tree, a kind of mugwort and the ivy* of Kamschatka are the plants consecrated to the gods, and their scent is agreeable to them ; that is why they decorate their idols and their victims with these plants".

Here are Dionysos and Artemis on their way to personification : we must not take too seriously what the writer says about the gods and the idols. No doubt he is right that they had sacrifices of some kind to spirits, but it is not necessary to assume that Kamschatka, any more than Northern Japan, was at the Greek level in religion.

Georgi adds a note to his description of the mugwort in Siberia, to the effect that the plant is called Irwen by the Katchins in Burma and some other peoples. Apparently this means that mugwort has come into Northern Burma as a medicinal plant. If this can be established, the antiquity and diffusion of the Artemis medicine is sufficiently established. The evidence which Georgi brings forward of the cult use of ivy amongst the Kamschatkans will require an important correction to one of our speculations in the Essay on the "Cult of Dionysos." It will be remembered that we explained the title of Perikionios applied to Dionysos as being a Greek variation on a title Perkunios, implying that Dionysos was affiliated to the Thunder-god Perkun. Let us see what Georgi has further to say about the Ivy-Cult.

"Les Kamschatdales érigent dans leur déserts de petites colonnes qu'ils entourent de lierre, et les regardent comme des Dieux, en leur addressant un culte religieux" (l.c. p. 149).

It seems that this is the same cult as that of Dionysos Perikionios among the Greeks, and in a very early form. We may therefore discard, as Mr. A. B. Cook suggested, the derivation of Perikionios from Perkun.

Enough has been said to illustrate the magic of Artemis, and we only need to be reminded once more that the medicine of the past lies close to the magic, and cannot be dissociated from it. Artemis is at once a plant, a witch, and a doctor. Her personification may be illustrated from "The Times" obituary for 24 February, 1916, which contains the name Beifus! The name is more common than one would at first imagine. My friend, Conrad Gill, writes me that "there was a lieutenant named Beyfus in the battalion of which my brother was medical officer". I noted recently a by-form of the same name in a book-catalogue :—

Beibitz (J. H.): *Jesus Salvator Mundi: Lenten Thoughts*:

This is the same name as the German *Beiboz*.

When Aristides, the Christian philosopher of the second century, denounced the irregularities of the Olympians, he said of Artemis that it was "disgraceful that a maid should go about by herself on mountains and follow the chase of beasts: and therefore it is not possible that Artemis should be a goddess"; the form taken by the apologetic is hardly one that commends itself to the present generation; even in Wordsworth's time it would have been subject to the retort,

Dear child of nature, let them rail!

Our investigation, then, is a missing link in the propagandist literature of Christianity!

THE ENGLISH CIVIL SERVICE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.¹

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THERE is little need to expatiate to a twentieth-century audience on the nature and functions of the Civil Service of the modern British state. To us the civil servant is with us always. He rules us from a score of palaces of bureaucracy in Westminster and beyond. Each time that our benevolent rulers extend for our benefit the sphere of state intervention, they are compelled to make a new call on the activity of this ever-increasing class. The result is that those who fondly imagined that modern England was a democracy are gradually discovering that it is in reality a bureaucracy. Our real masters are not the voters. Still less are they the vote-hunting politicians who flit from office to office, either singly or in whole packs. Our masters are the demure and obscure gentlemen in neat black coats and tall hats who are seen every morning flocking to the government offices in Western London at hours varying inversely with their dignity.

I am far from saying that our masters do their work badly ; on the whole they perform their task quite well. It is true that their point of view as governors is not always ours as the governed, and that the loyalty to tradition, which springs up, like a mushroom, in the youngest office, seems to us outsiders occasionally to degenerate into what we irreverently call the cult of red tape, and that their noble sense of their own dignity may occasionally incline towards pomposity and superciliousness. Our masters mainly live and work in London, and only rarely and reluctantly do the higher grades of the class establish themselves permanently in the "provinces". But they are always glad to inspect or to visit or in some other way to direct the

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 15 December, 1915.

benighted provincial into the right road of progress. Thus we in the North, though we see but seldom in our midst the more exalted types of bureaucrat, have constant occasion to realize their activities. We have been forced to protect ourselves from them by the homœopathic method of creating lesser bureaucracies of our own. How successful we are is shown by the fact that our own local palace of bureaucracy in Albert Square is, for all its vastness, insufficient to contain the myriad of servants of the city corporation that should normally pass within it their working lives.

However much we may grumble, this growth of bureaucracy is inevitable. It is in fact a result of the increasing complexity of modern civilization, and is emphasized by the constant growth of state intervention. Time was when a serious effort was made by our grandfathers to realize the ideal of *laissez faire*; but *laissez faire* was always much more theory than practice, and in neither relation did it ever come near success.

Our life could not be lived on the hypothesis that the state was nothing more than a glorified policeman. Now we are all more or less socialists: we all recognize that the mission of the state covers the whole of life. To discharge so wide a function the public service, both central and local, requires all the skill that training and knowledge can give. We have therefore imperative need for the trained specialist who makes administration the work of his life. At his best, his skill enables us to be well governed. At his worst, he may still save us from the vagaries of the amateur, who, whether as member of parliament or city councillor, thinks that the leisure of a busy life is sufficient to devote to the highly technical and difficult trade of government. We cannot therefore do without the professional administrator, the bureaucrat. Our amateur politicians, on the other hand, have the equally indispensable task imposed upon them of calling the tune which the bureaucrat should sing, and of watching over his restless activity and turning it into profitable channels.

We are sometimes told that the elaboration of the political machinery of the state, which involves the existence of a bureaucratic class, is the work of quite modern times. No doubt many of the refinements of permanent officialism are modern enough. The very words, civil service, civil servant, which we familiarly use to describe

the permanent public official, are things of yesterday. No instances of the use of these terms can be found in our language before the reign of George III. It originated apparently among the early British administrators of India rather than in the British Islands. It seems first to have been used by the East India Company, after Clive's conquest of Bengal, to distinguish the administrative officers of the company who were not military by profession. It was only slowly that the technical phrase of the Anglo-Indian was also adopted for home use. The *New English Dictionary* gives us no instance of the wider employment of these terms earlier than some sixty years ago. Indeed I can find no earlier example of the familiar use of the phrase civil service, as applied to the officials of the British crown, than in the title of the report, issued in 1853, on "the organization of the permanent civil service". This report is memorable as having first suggested to an unheeding generation of place-hunters the policy of the free admission to the public service, without jobbing or nomination of all such male persons of sound health as have acquitted themselves best in a stiff competitive examination. It was the work of two officials, Sir Charles Trevelyan of the Treasury, and Sir Stafford Northcote of the Board of Trade, who were encouraged to persevere in their views by the reforming zeal of the new chancellor of the exchequer, W. E. Gladstone. If we study the correspondence and discussions provoked by Trevelyan's report, we find—for the first time so far as I can find—the word "civil service" applied to the permanent public servants of the English state. We can read it in 1854 in the letters of Lord John Russell opposing Trevelyan's revolutionary plans, in those of Gladstone advocating them, and in the note to Gladstone in which Queen Victoria gives a very guarded and reluctant assent to the general idea. The establishment of the Civil Service Commission in 1855, to carry out the new plan of examinations, made the term, so to say, official. It did not at once spread outside political circles. Thus Dickens, who published in 1857 in *Little Dorrit* his well-known denunciations of the Circumlocution office and of the Barnacle clan, never speaks of the civil service, though one Mr. Barnacle describes himself as a "public servant". In the light of these suggestions it seems as if the notice of the phrase civil servant in the *New English Dictionary* would be the better for a little elaboration. If I may venture to hazard a guess

on a topic quite outside my ordinary studies, it almost looks as if Sir Charles Trevelyan, a retired Indian civil servant, to whom the phrase was an everyday one, was perhaps unwittingly responsible for extending into general currency a term restricted in an earlier generation to the civil service of India. Within a few years the term civil service was to be heard from every one's lips.

Whether or not we have the name, we have the thing, hundreds of years earlier. The public servants of the crown, whose special sphere was administration and finance, and who were professional administrators, not professional soldiers, go back to the earliest ages of the English state. They existed, but barely existed, in the later days of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. They first became numerous, powerful, and conspicuous when the Norman kings gave England a centralized administration and a trained body of administrators. Their influence rose to a high level in the reigns of Henry II and his sons, when England, thanks to their work, was the best governed and most orderly state in all Western Europe. By this time another process was beginning. The early civil servants, like all early public officials, were simply members of the king's household. The king's clerks, accountants, and administrators belonged to the same category as the king's cooks, scullions, grooms, and valets. The public service of the state then was hopelessly confused with the domestic service of the court. Bit by bit, however, we get to the first stages of the long process by which the national administrative machine was slowly disentangled from the machinery which regulated the domestic establishment of the monarch. The time was still far distant when the modern distinction was made between the king in his private and public capacities, between the royal officers who ruled the king's household, and those who carried on the government of the country. Our mediæval ancestors were moved even less than ourselves by theoretical considerations. But for very practical reasons the kings found it impossible not to draw some sort of line between the men who helped them to govern the country and the men who waited on the monarch or strove to keep in order his vast and disorderly household. For one thing the king was always on the move. A Norman or Angevin monarch had no fixed "residence" and still less a fixed "capital". Business and inclination united to make him live a wandering life from one royal estate to another. Economic necessity alone

kept him plodding through his continued journeys. So great was the dearth of means of communication, and so difficult was the transport of bulky commodities, that it was much easier to take men and horses to their food than to bring their food to them.

The whole administrative machine of our early kings was a part of the court. Accordingly it followed the king on his constant wanderings. It was not the least of the troubles of those, who wished to transact business with the government, that they had to find out where the king was and to attend him in his restless movements from place to place. So long as the magnates of each district ruled each one over his own estate, so long as the freemen of shire, hundred, or borough were mainly governed in their local courts, these inconveniences occurred so seldom that they counted for very little. But by Henry II's reign the English king had centralized so much authority under his immediate direction that all men of substance had frequent occasion to seek justice or request favours at the court. Moreover, as the administrative machine became more complex, it became a constantly harder task to carry about with the court the ever-increasing tribe of officials, to say nothing of the records, registers, and rolls that they found necessary for business or for reference. The remedy was found in establishing a headquarters for each administrative department at some fixed spot, where permanent business was transacted and where the records of the office were preserved. It was for this practical reason that the civil service slowly differentiated itself from the domestic environment of the king. For similar practical reasons London, or rather Westminster, was found the most convenient fixed spot for each permanent central bureau.

The financial administration was the first to acquire a separate life of its own. In days when government meant exploitation, the highest aim of the ruler was to get as much out of his subjects as he could. The good king of those days promoted his people's welfare because he had the wit to see that a prosperous community could afford to pay more taxes and was likely to yield them up with less friction or rebellion. It was natural then that finance should loom largest in the royal scheme of the universe, and that the greatest attention should be devoted to the collection and administration of the royal revenue. Accordingly the good old days when Edward the Confessor kept his treasure in a box in his bedroom passed away. Under Henry I the first of modern

government offices arose in the king's Exchequer, and under Henry II the king's Exchequer had a permanent home of its own at Westminster. If the title of chamberlain, borne by some of the king's Exchequer officials, shows its origin in the king's bedroom or chamber, the Exchequer was before the end of the twelfth century in all essentials an independent office of state. Its staff was quite separate from the service of the court. It was in modern phrase a branch—for the time being the only branch—of the king's civil service.

I have spoken of the Exchequer as a financial office, and I have done so because its main concern was with finance. But we must not expect meticulous distinctions in these days between various branches of the royal service. The business of government was still so primitive : the number of skilled officers so small : their resources so limited, that every servant of the king had, like the modern country workman or the present Indian civilian in a remote district, to turn his hand to any job that came in his way. If he did not do it, there was no one else who could, and the job remained undone. Accordingly the Exchequer officer is often found trying lawsuits, going on missions, and transacting all sorts of business that had no close relation with finance. As time went on, this proved inconvenient, and just as the twelfth century saw the creation of the financial department, so did the thirteenth century witness the slow separation from the court of a second office of state, whose main business was administration. This administrative department grew out of the little office where the chaplains of the court occupied themselves in writing out the king's letters between the hours of divine service. One of these chaplains, called the chancellor, was entrusted with the custody of the king's seal. Now in an age when writing was a rare art with laymen, and when all writing looked much alike, a great man did not authenticate his letters by signing them but by affixing his seal to them. The keeping of the king's seal then involved responsibility for the composition of the king's correspondence. Now the confidential clerk, who writes a man's letters, may generally more or less suggest the policy these letters involve. It resulted that, as the king's general secretary, the chancellor became the most trusted of all the king's ministers, his secretary of state for all departments, as Stubbs has rightly called him. He was, in effect, prime minister, and to do his work he had to gather round him a staff of skilled officials. The result was the complete separation

of the king's scribes from the king's chaplains, the growth of a class of clerks of the Chancery who by the fourteenth century were the ablest, most powerful, and most energetic of all officers of state. The Chancery, however, long remained a part of the court, mainly because it was to the king's interest to have his chief minister always by his side. But as the office became larger, and as its prudent habit of enrolling all its acts swelled its official records to an enormous size, the same reason, which separated the Exchequer from the court, began to apply also to the Chancery. The process was made more imperative when the barons put in their claim to control the government of the country equally or almost equally with the king. At last a sort of compromise was arrived at by which the Chancery, though still partly following the court, wandered less freely and in smaller circles. It now had headquarters of its own in London, where the clerks lived a sort of collegiate life in common. It kept there its ever-increasing mass of records, and kept them in the very same place where the Public Record Office now preserves the accumulated archives of every great department of state. By the days of Edward II the Chancery, like the Exchequer since Henry II, had become a government office, self-contained, self-sufficing, with its own staff, traditions, and methods, and plainly separated from the court.

The Exchequer and the Chancery, the office of finance and the office of administration, were the two first government departments in the modern sense. A third and lesser office separated itself from the court in the reign of Edward III. This was the office of the privy seal, whose keeper and clerks gradually drifted out of court in the generation succeeding the differentiation by the Chancery from the household. The king's privy seal was originated about the reign of John when the great seal, and its keeper the chancellor, became so much public officers that they were no longer always at hand when their lord wished to write a letter. Moreover, the chancellor was a great man, who, though nominally the king's servant, often had a will of his own and often agreed with the barons rather than his royal master. The result was that, as Chancery and chancellor drifted out of court, there still remained, as closely attendant as of old on the monarch in all his wanderings, the ancient writing and administrative department which continued to do for the king's household the work originally done by the chancellor. It was soon natural for the king

to set up his domestic chancery against the public chancery, the privy seal against the great seal. The barons tried to stop this by claiming the control of the household office as well as the public one. Neither king nor barons could get all their way, and in the long run a sort of compromise was again arrived at. The privy seal went "out of court". It became a minor administrative office, sometimes perhaps relieving the Chancery, more often, I suspect, clogging the wheels of the administration. The result was a third type of fourteenth century civil servant in the clerks of the privy seal.

Though all these offices of state arose one after the other from the royal household, the household itself went on much as before. Even under Edward III the line between domestic and public administration was not yet drawn. The household offices continued to overlap the offices of state. If the Exchequer controlled the national revenues, it had a rival in the domestic office called the king's chamber, which remained, as in primitive times, the household office of finance. The king's wardrobe in the same way was no longer the cupboard where the king hung up his clothes, but a well-equipped office of domestic administration. It was in effect the private chancery of the court, and almost rivalling the public chancery of state. Each branch of the king's household was now manned in part at least by skilled professional administrators. The clerks of the chamber and the clerks of the wardrobe might well be included as a fourth type of mediæval civil servant. If I speak but little of this class it is because, with all its importance in the administration, its best work was over by the death of Edward III. As we near the fifteenth century, it became increasingly absorbed in its domestic work and less and less employed in the public government by the state. Yet no sooner had this process gone forward to a considerable degree than new court administrative offices began to take the lead in directing national affairs. I should, however, get far beyond my period were I to speak of the secretariat of state, the signet office and the newer administrative machinery of the last period of the middle ages. We must remember, however, that these new departments had their origin in the course of the fourteenth century.

So much for the offices : and now for the men who filled them. My apology for troubling you so much with the growth of the administrative departments is that some knowledge of them is indispensable for the appreciation of the work and position of the official

class with whom we are primarily concerned. It will be my business now to try and suggest what manner of man was the civil servant who filled these offices of state.

The bare sketch of the growth of the offices will suffice to dissipate the illusion that the middle ages had no civil servants. In some ways the bureaucrat was as active and vigorous in the fourteenth century as he is in the twentieth. But we should be rash to think that he closely resembled the civil servant of the modern state. Mediæval society was always on a small scale even in great kingdoms. Mediæval resources were miserably feeble as compared with those of modern times. Men were as clever then as they are now ; they were almost as "civilized". But they were overwhelmingly inferior to moderns in the command of material resources, and but a fraction of the meagre material forces at the disposal of society was under the control of the mediæval state. Hence the very slight extent to which the division of labour could be pushed. When the principle of differentiation had gone so far as to make a civil service possible, its members were but imperfectly specialized. The offices of state were few ; nevertheless they overlapped hopelessly ; everything was in a state of flux ; and the mediæval civilian, like the modern blue-jacket, was compelled to be a "handy man" by the situation in which his lot was cast. Even in our own highly organized society it is possible, especially in times like this, for clerks to be shifted from one office to another, or for outsiders to be called in to discharge temporary war work. Under mediæval conditions the same end was attained by everybody doing everybody else's job, sometimes to the neglect of his own. The mediæval civil servant then was much less specialized than his modern counterpart.

Another striking point of dissimilarity between the modern and the mediæval civilian is that the great majority of the latter were clergymen. We still call the civil servant a clerk, just as we speak of the clerks of a bank or a merchant's office. If we ever ask ourselves what "clerk" means, we should probably say that it involves a life devoted to the mechanical task of writing, book-keeping, accounting, and copying. But historically a clerk means simply a clergyman, a member of the broad class of actual or potential ministers of the Church. In the early middle ages it was a matter of course to regard all men of education as clerks. Writing and accounting were rare gifts for a layman, the

more so since all letters were written and all accounts kept in Latin. It was because they knew how to write and keep accounts in Latin that clerks were alone trusted to man the primitive offices of state. Now these clerks were not necessarily "clerks in holy orders"; they were not even necessarily "clerks in minor orders". You could enter the clerical profession as soon as you had induced some prelate to give you the "first tonsure". With the shaven crown went the clerical dress and the important privilege of benefit of clergy, that is the right of being judged for all offences by members of your own order, and in practice the useful privilege of committing your first crime with comparative impunity. The tonsured clerk might, if he would, afterwards proceed to "orders," minor or holy; but in numerous cases he did not even enter minor orders, and it was quite common for him not to take holy orders, that is he never became a sub-deacon, deacon, or priest. Very often he passed through these stages, hastily and perfunctorily, when his service to the state received its crowning reward in a bishopric. There were few instances of mediæval civil servants declining the office of bishop, the highest stage of holy orders. Now for the majority of clerks in government offices there was little need to assume more clerical responsibility than prudence required. For holy orders were permanent and indelible; the tonsure alone gave benefit of clergy, and the worldly clerk only needed orders to qualify him for a benefice. Thus the clerical class was very elastic and very large. In fact it comprehended all educated men, most lawyers, most physicians, all scholars, graduates, and students of universities, and most boys in grammar schools. And the clerk, when a clerk, had the disabilities as well as the advantages of his profession. All professional men then were compulsory celibates; by abandoning the clerical status they lost all prospect of worldly advancement in the one profession that had great prizes to offer.

By the fourteenth century this state of things was already passing away. There was an ever-increasing number of educated laymen, and a new lucrative profession was fully open to lay enterprise. This was that of the pleaders and exponents of English law. The schools of the "common lawyers" in London were the first schools in England where men could study for a profession without becoming clerks. But we have not got to the time when to be a barrister was to possess the master key to politics. The lawyers had, then as now, more than their

share of good things ; but the common lawyer at least was rarely a civil servant, though he might sometimes become a minister. It was the civil and canon laws, the law of Rome and the law of the church, not the common law, that were most pursued by those who aspired to the public service. The civil and canon laws were the only laws studied in the universities : their students then were all necessarily clerks.

There were some advantages in the clerical official. He was better educated on the average ; often a graduate, sometimes a distinguished doctor, or master, of Paris or Oxford. He was generally a man with a career to make, and likely therefore to be more devoted and less scrupulous in the service of his master. Moreover, clerks could easily be rewarded without expense to the king. They could be enriched by livings, dignities, prebends, bishoprics ; while the laymen could only be satisfied by grants of land that belonged to the royal domain or by the custody of royal wards or by the hand of heiresses in the king's guardianship. At the worst, the clerk could be quietly got rid of by being given some job that kept him away from his office. Moreover, a strong practical disadvantage that told against lay officials was the fact that in the early middle ages all lay offices tended to become hereditary. For instance in the Exchequer, the oldest of the offices of state, there had been from the beginning a considerable lay element. Originally the layman did the rough work, while the clerks wrote, directed, and kept accounts. But by the fourteenth century laymen were as often as competent as clerks for these delicate operations. Long before that, however, the original lay offices of the Exchequer had become "hereditary serganties," and had fallen into the hands of families so swelled by the profits of royal service that their representatives were too dignified to do their work. Accordingly, they were allowed to appoint some person of inferior social status who was not too much of a gentleman to be afraid of soiling his hands with labour. The result was that many actual working members of the Exchequer staff were appointed not by the king but by some nobleman, and that nobleman was often a bitter enemy of the royal policy. We may well pity Edward II when one of his fiercest opponents, the grim Earl of Warwick, nicknamed by the royal favourite the Black Dog of Arden, had the right to nominate the man who did the work of his hereditary office of chamberlain of the Exchequer. The Black Dog showed that he could bite by killing Gaveston ; but until the earl's dying day the king had to accept the man his enemy

chose to discharge the functions in the Exchequer which devolved by inheritance to the house of Warwick. There is no wonder then that to the king the clerk, who could not legally found an hereditary house, was a better servant than a layman who expected to be the source of a new landed family. It was only by employing clerks that the monarch could be master of his own household.

This state of things was beginning to pass away by the fourteenth century, but the warning of the Exchequer sergantries had not been lost. In the Exchequer clerks did, under the Edwards, the work which, under Henry II, was performed by laymen, holding office from father to son. Moreover, Exchequer business was now largely in the hands of personages called "barons of the exchequer". It was perhaps for reasons like this that the Exchequer clerical staff was larger in the fourteenth than in the twelfth century. For instance, the barons could be, and were, indifferently clerks or laymen. But the head of the office, the treasurer, was always a clerk and generally was, or became, a bishop. The most rigidly clerical office was that of chancellor of the Exchequer, an officer who had the pay and status of a baron. This post remained clerical because the chancellor kept the Exchequer seal, and seal keeping was still looked upon as essentially clerical work. Of our modern famous chancellors of the Exchequer perhaps Mr. Gladstone might have felt a greater satisfaction in the early clerical traditions of his office than, say, Sir William Harcourt or Mr. Lloyd George.

As contrasted with the Exchequer the newer offices of state, one and all, opened up few chances to the layman. The Chancery, for instance, was entirely staffed with clerks. Not only was there a clerical chancellor, but the very numerous Chancery clerks who worked under him were clerks in fact as well as in name. The Chancery clerks were, I imagine, both the most important and the ablest of mediæval civil servants. Many of them were doctors of the civil and canon law. Among their special spheres was diplomacy and foreign politics. In the fourteenth as in the twentieth century diplomacy was the genteelst of professions. To this day the Foreign Office is spared the disastrous results on its manners and tone that might have followed had its officials, like those of less dignified departments, been selected by open competition. Perhaps brains and social graces do not always go together, and even nowadays a little more brains might have its

use in diplomacy. But the practical mediæval mind secured the happy mixture of good breeding and capacity necessary, let us say, to persuade or coerce a Balkan prince of German origin, by putting a great nobleman at the head of a foreign embassy, while associating with him a bishop, who had, perhaps, begun life as a chancery clerk, to help out his intelligence, and a chancery clerk or two still on the make, to supply the necessary hard work and technical knowledge. At home, even more than abroad, there were many fields open to the zealous Chancery clerk. Accordingly the Chancery was thronged by the academic youth of ability anxious for distinction in the public service. Fourteenth-century Oxford had already marked out this career as its own ; but while the modern lay Oxonian prepares himself for the public service by reading for a stiff examination, his mediæval prototype, already pledged to a clerical career, was forced to avail himself, to procure office, of the methods of influence and intrigue by which a few of our public offices are still staffed. And if the lay civil servant seemed to the mediæval mind almost the last word in radicalism, it goes without saying that mediæval conditions and ideals made it unthinkable to employ women in the public service of the state.

Let us next speak of methods of appointment. In the beginnings of the public service under the Normans, the crown sold offices of state to the highest bidders, who recouped themselves for their capital outlay, not only by the legitimate profits of office but still more by the unlawful but customary peculations and extortions in which the early mediæval functionary delighted. By the fourteenth century this primitive method had been partly outgrown ; though we had a modern re-crudescence of it in the sale of commissions in the army, only abolished in 1871. I have already spoken of the prevalence and of the inconvenience of the hereditary transmission of office. There was only one alternative way to it, for the modern method of recruiting the civil service by open competition was inconceivable in an age when the cult of the examination was a novelty. This other way was the method of nomination, sometimes perhaps by conscientious selection, more often I fear by jobbery, local, family, or personal. Still under the circumstances then prevailing, I am fairly sure that the young man of parts and push had nearly as good a chance then as he has nowadays. Yet jobbery there was to almost any extent. There were innumerable mediæval instances of the sublime method of appointment still pre-

valent in subordinate posts in the law courts by which, we are told, it happens that at present of nine chief officers of the King's Bench seven are relatives of judges and of the eight clerks of assize five are sons of judges. This is the system than which a luminary of the Scottish bar ingenuously tells us that he "does not know of any better". It would be impossible to draw from contemporary politics a more happy and complete survival of the mediæval mind.

It was one of the happy results of the clerical element in the mediæval service that our celibate clerical officials had not, or ought not to have had, so many opportunities of jobbery for their sons as are vouch-safed to the sages of the law in modern democratic Britain. Here again the layman had a better chance than the cleric, though the cleric's family feeling could find plenty of scope in promoting the interests of his numerous nephews. But there are other forms of jobbery besides hereditary jobbery; and although family influence was very strong in the middle ages, the commonest of all sorts of mediæval jobbery seems to have been "feudal" and local, rather than personal. The official that had "got on" planted not only his kinsfolk but his tenants and retainers and their families, in humbler cases the youth of his own village or district, in any posts of which he had the patronage. In the same way the king, as the ultimate fountain of office, always bestowed special favour on men sprung from manors on the royal domain. It is astonishing how large a proportion of mediæval officials showed by their surnames—surnames of the local type—that they traced their origin to some royal estate. Nor was this method of selection merely the result of favouritism. The close personal tie of lord and vassal was, under fourteenth-century conditions, the strongest possible guarantee of faithful service. And loyalty and fidelity were then plants so rare that they deserved cultivation on whatsoever soil they were able to grow. If a mediæval minister had been asked to justify his methods of appointment, he could have said with a better conscience than a modern lawyer that he "knew no better". Anyhow, as things went in these days, the king was often ably and sometimes honestly served. In the atmosphere of slackness and peculation which prevailed in the middle ages, we can expect no more than this.

The modern civil servants are proud to be non-political and permanent. Can we say the same of their mediæval comrades? The answer, as to so many other historical questions, is both "yes"

and "no". The public servant was "non-political" in the same sense that we use the term to-day, that is, the sense of non-party. This was inevitable since there were no parties such as we moderns are only too familiar with. To a limited extent there was the nucleus of a party system, to say nothing of a pretty rank growth of faction. The chronic struggle between courtiers and the barons of the opposition, the contest between bureaucracy and aristocracy, which we can discern all through the fourteenth century, foreshadows to a modest extent the more recent strife between Whig and Tory. But these factions represent tendencies rather than organized parties. Mediæval principles were too fluid, political conditions too unstable, to permit of the growth of permanent parties, aiming at the control of the state. There was consequently only the faintest suggestion of party government, for it was universally allowed that the king governed England with the help of such ministers as he personally chose to help him. The most that the politician could hope to do was to induce the king to take his advice. If the king could not be persuaded to listen to his minister, that functionary had, like Venezelos, to retire into private life and let the king do as he would. Failing this, his only resources were coercion, conspiracy, or rebellion, courses which, under a weak king, an Edward II or a Richard II, had always a good chance of success. But even the feeblest king had a way of turning the tables on the successful opponent of the royal will. The best way of securing a permanent change of policy was to depose or kill the peccant king, and put somebody with sounder principles in his place. This happened twice within seventy years, and on the whole the process did as much good as harm.

You may say that I am straying from my subject and am digressing from civil servants to politicians. But this is not so, for another of the distinctions between mediæval and modern political conditions is the fact that there was no clear line of division between the politicians in high office and the permanent public officials. A few great earls and barons might have an hereditary right to take a leading share in the king's councils without the preliminary training of the public service. But the greater lay magnates ruled by influence rather than as officials, for the highest dignitaries in the administration, the chancellor and the treasurer, were ecclesiastics, and in many cases had worked themselves up to these posts and to the bishoprics, which were

the material reward of their political services, as public servants in the Chancery, the Exchequer, and, still more often, in the wardrobe and household. In fact the minister of state was as likely as not to be a promoted civil servant. Mediæval England, down to and including Tudor times, was ruled, like the modern German Empire, by ministers who had made their mark in the civil service of the crown. In Great Britain the best of modern civil servants can aspire to nothing higher than the influential obscurity of a permanent under-secretary, acting under the orders of the "lawyer politician," the party leader, the Cabinet minister, whose ignorance of the technicalities of the work for which he is responsible, causes him, if a prudent man, to adopt his more experienced underling's advice. But our greatest political ministers of the fourteenth century were, like the leading German statesmen from Stein and Bismarck down to Bethmann-Hollweg, promoted civil servants. Thus Robert Burnell and Walter Langton, the strongest ministers of Edward I, William of Wykeham, the best-known chancellor of Edward III, were alike in this that they were officers of the household, raised by their talents and royal favour to the highest ministries of state.

Under these conditions the English civil service was almost as "non-political" and a good deal more "permanent" than were the mighty ministers of state who so largely emerged from the official class. This is seen when, among other foreshadowings of modern conditions, we find in the reign of Edward III something like the beginnings of parties and two ministerial crises, those of 1340 and 1371, in which one party drove its rivals from the king's favour and therefore from office. In both these years the whole ministry was turned out, really because the king disliked their policy, nominally because they were clergymen. Let us not, however, look upon even this as a clearly marked party triumph. To the shrewdest of contemporary chroniclers it was a struggle not between parties but between the king's confidential household advisers and the ministers holding the great offices of state.¹ But when in 1340 the clerical treasurer and chancellor gave way to the first laymen appointed to these offices, the chief clerks of the Chancery and Exchequer, numerous judges, sheriffs, and other minor officials shared their fate. The underlings went into the wilderness along with the heads of the departments, just as in the

¹ Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, p. 323.

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United States every petty office is vacated when the swing of the political pendulum replaces a democratic by a republican president. The doctrine, sacred to Tammany and the machine politician, that to the victor belong the spoils was one which might well have appealed to the politician of the fourteenth century.

Such general changes as those in 1340 were extremely rare. They were the more infrequent since the mediæval placeman—high and low, and especially the low—was as a rule very much of the vicar of Bray's way of thinking. Whatever king or policy reigned, he regarded it to be the very root of the matter that he should cling tightly to the emoluments of office. And his easy-going masters seldom disturbed him as long as he did his daily task decently and did not criticize the higher powers. Nor need we blame the mediæval placeman for his apparent want of principle. High affairs of state were no more his business than they were the concern of the man in the street. He was a paid functionary, not always a well-paid functionary, when duty was obedience to his masters. He trusted his masters to do his thinking for him and to understand what it was no business of his to study. Obedience, loyalty, discipline were the ideals before him. Thinking out the rights and wrongs of policy was outside his job. Inspired by these conceptions, the rank and file of the civil service grew grey in their offices, vacating them only by reason of promotion, death, or incapacity to discharge the daily task. Even if they moved from office to office, they remained functionaries for the whole of their working lives.

Let us turn from the principles, or the want of them, of the mediæval placeman to the payments given for his services, to his professional prospects, as we should say. His direct pay was inconsiderable and irregular, and it was only after his particular office got separated from the household that the mediæval civil servant had the advantage of pay at all. To this scanty wage, when he got it, he clung with touching devotion. Let us not blame him, for the labourer is worthy of his hire, and it was a hard job under mediæval conditions to secure a living wage. But let us not think that the mediæval public servant was an idealist. Like most mediæval men, he would do nothing until he saw the chance of getting something out of it. The richest of mediæval members of parliament saw no harm in taking the few shillings a day, paid them by their constituents, for each day's attendance at parliament. The sentiment of an eminent modern statesman,

which I read in to-day's paper, "I take my salary and am going to continue taking it," would have struck a sympathetic chord in every mediæval breast, and have elicited even warmer emotions than the "loud cheers" which greeted the utterance in yesterday's House of Commons. The mediævalist may again stray wide of his subject to express his satisfaction that the impalpable "mediæval atmosphere" is not altogether dissipated by the drab-coloured conditions of modern times.

If the pay of the mediæval public servant was scanty and irregular, the indirect advantages of serving the state were open, gross, and palpable. Here the clerical official had the same pull over his lay colleagues that the clerical schoolmaster—another curious survival of the one profession period—still has over the lay instructor of youth. Besides the chances of his immediate career, the prizes, small and large, of a great profession were open to him. Clerical preferment increased the scanty wages of his post, while he held it; clerical preferment enabled him to retire betimes and enjoy a comfortable old age on his living, his prebend, his deanery or even his bishopric. We have an interesting survival of the state of things when the church decently eked out the scanty wages of the state in the fact that a large amount of ecclesiastical preferment is still in the hands of the modern lord chancellor, who in name, though not in reality, represents the chancellor prime-ministers of the middle ages. The "chancellor's livings," still coveted in some clerical circles, go back, I imagine, to the time when the chancellor was at the head of a corporation of clerical subordinates who saw that their easiest and most natural way of increasing their income was to obtain preferment to livings in the king's gift. While the king dispensed the larger patronage, it saved him trouble for the chancellor to scatter directly the small bones that were meaty enough to attract the hungry dogs kennelled in the inferior stalls of the Chancery. To this day "chancellor's livings" are mostly bad ones. As there are no longer clerical officials to receive them, they fall to ordinary non-official divines.

Besides ecclesiastical preferment, the worn-out civilian could look for pensions from the crown, transference to less laborious or nominal service, or, at the worst, to what was called a "corrody," that is authority to take up his quarters in some monastery and be fed, clothed, and lodged at the expense of the monks. These latter resources were

particularly welcome to laymen or to those clerics who had disqualified themselves for advancement in the church by matrimony. A still better refuge was a pension from the exchequer. But there was one drawback to the enjoyment of this most satisfactory of direct sources of support, a royal pension. It was that it was not always regularly paid. In those days the dependents on the state were always the first to suffer when war or some other exceptional cause of expenditure restricted the royal bounty, or when a careless or extravagant king neither wished nor could keep his plighted word. Lastly, we must not neglect among these supplementary sources of income the perquisites, lawful and unlawful, of office. Mediæval propriety was not outraged by public officers receiving gratifications in money or kind from all who came to transact business with them. It was natural that the receiver of a favour should pay a fee to the source of his satisfaction. The preparation of a writ was immensely expedited when a suitable *douceur* from the applicant quickened the activity of the chancery or privy seal clerk responsible for its issue. We find that religious houses regularly entered in their accounts the sums they had given to ministers to obtain their good will. On a much lower plane was the direct bribe to do something known to be wrong ; yet that also was by no means rare. Mediæval man used the discreet term “*curialitas*” (courtesy) to indicate transactions that varied between perfectly permissible presents and open and shameful corruption. And there were few public servants who did not take advantage of their position to do a good deal of business on their own account, such as administering or managing estates, lending money, acting as sureties, as attorneys or proxies, and the like.

Taking everything into account, the mediæval civilian's prosperity was not to be reckoned merely in wages. Besides money payments, there were also wages in kind. In the old days, when the public servant was attached to the court, he had, as we have seen, no salary, or a very small one. But he made up for this by receiving lodging, clothing, food, drink and fire-wood at the king's expense. He had, therefore, as little need of money as a soldier in the trenches or a monk in a convent. We have already noticed how the offices of state, one after the other, went “out of court,” some, like the exchequer, early, others, like the chancery and the office of the privy seal, at a much later date. The records of these last two depart-

ments show us that, when an office went "out of court," its head, in these cases the chancellor and the keeper of the privy seal, lived with his subordinates a sort of common life in what were called the household of the chancery and the household of the privy seal. The expenses of these were kept up by a block grant to the chancellor or keeper, and it was his business to provide his subordinates with adequate entertainment. We have glimpses of these semi-collegiate households of celibate government clerks, settled down in some central establishment in London, or wandering more uneasily about the country, according to the needs of the public service. They do not seem to have had a bad time; there was plenty of rough good fellowship and conviviality, and the humours of the civil servant in his leisure moments were not disturbed by any too exacting standard of reticence or decorum.¹ Yet these official households were never perhaps very satisfactory or very comfortable. Corporate life fitted ill with the fierce individualism of a greedy bachelor fighting his way through the world. Mediæval colleges never had the amenities of a modern college, and even in colleges common rooms only came in with the seventeenth century, and the tavern, not the college, was the chief social centre.

As time went on, the common life of the mediæval civil servants began to break up. Their official chiefs were too dignified to live among them, and delegated the maintenance of the household of their subordinates to some senior clerk of the office. Many of the clerks grew tired of the monotony and lack of privacy involved in such a life. Some had money or preferment of their own; others were married and wished to live with their own families. It was perhaps because the exchequer had always a large lay staff that the common life of this oldest of public offices was always less intense than that of the purely clerical offices of the chancery and privy seal. But it was one of the many signs of the incoming of the modern spirit in the days of Edward III that the layman began to demand his share of posts

¹ The ideal of life of an unknown wardrobe clerk of the end of the reign of Edward I is written in the margin of a book of wardrobe accounts of that period, in the form of a parody of the beginning of the Athanasian Creed: "Quicunque vult salvus esse ad tabernam debet esse servare luxuriam". *Exch. Accts. K.R.* 364/13 f. 103 d. Such facetious marginalia occasionally brighten the path of the record searcher.

hitherto monopolized by the clergy. At first his ambition was concentrated on the great ministerial charges, the chancellorship and the treasurership, and here, as we have seen, he triumphed both in 1340 and in 1371. But the lay ministers still had special difficulties to face. The first lay chancellors were put by reason of their laity into a very awkward position. Still lawyers on the make, they had not the hereditary resources of a baronial or the official resources of an episcopal chancellor. As married men with households of their own, they could not be expected to leave their comfortable homes to be the resident heads of a celibate college of poor and pushing clergymen. As men of limited means, they could not treat their "households" so generously as their episcopal predecessors. An attempt was made to meet their cases by increasing the public allowance made to them for the support of themselves and the "household of the chancery"; but the extra expense involved did much to promote the reaction which soon brought back well-endowed bishops to the chief office of the state. Meanwhile their difficulties were increased by the difference of profession, outlook, and life between the lay chancellor and his clerical staff. The latter "knew the ropes" better than their chief. They were not only more useful; they were cheaper to the state. Small wonder then that economy and efficiency triumphed over theories of equal opportunity. The lay chancery clerk only came in with the Tudors, and by that time the chancellor's mediæval glory as prime minister had passed away, and the chancery was heading straight towards its modern declension into a court of equity.

The chancery did not stand alone. The year 1371, which saw a lay chancellor appointed because he was a layman, also saw the first lay keeper of the privy seal. But the office of the privy seal, like the chancery itself, remained a clerical preserve, though, unlike the chancery, its importance shrivelled up so much that the status of its staff ceases to be a question of much importance. Despite all this, the lay civil servant had got himself established before the fourteenth century was over. Education had ceased to be a clerical monopoly, and if the laymen were still outside the universities, the London law schools enabled the lay common lawyer to receive an education quite as complete as that afforded by the academic schools, and much more practical as well. Moreover, cultivated laymen such as Geoffrey Chaucer, himself a civil servant, and John Gower, showed that a complete intellectual equipment

could be obtained outside either universities or professional schools. Yet for the wholesale importation of the lay element into the civil service we have to turn once more from the decadent mediæval departments to that fountain of all honour and place, the king's court, from which in the transition between the mediæval and modern periods new administrative organizations were to arise out of which sprang the modern offices of state.

One question still remains. How did the mediæval civil servant do his work? How far was he efficient, and, if he were remiss, how far could the peccant official be controlled or punished? On the whole I am inclined to think that a respectably high level of general competence was attained. Our best evidence for this is that afforded by the wonderfully complete and well-kept series of our mediæval archives still surviving in the public record office. The mediæval public servant had plenty of disadvantages as compared with his modern successor. All the devices by which book-keeping, letter-writing, account-keeping and the like are made easy were unknown to him. His works of reference were unpractical rolls that had to be unrolled in all their length before he could verify a single entry. His material for writing on was parchment so expensive that abbreviation of his matter was necessary and to waste a slip something of an offence. The exchequer clerk had to keep books and do sums of extraordinary complexity. The very addition of roman numerals was painful enough in itself. It was made more laborious by reckonings by scores and by hundreds, by sums, calculated indifferently in marks and in pounds, shillings and pence, being all mixed up together in the same columns of figures. Yet you will very rarely find mistakes in arithmetic even in the most complicated of accounts; and if you take the trouble, which some of our modern historians have not done, to understand the accountant's system before you make use of his figures, you will not often catch him committing many serious errors. No one can turn over mediæval official records without admiration for the neatness of the calligraphy, the immense pains taken to facilitate reference and eliminate blunders, the careful correction of erroneous entries, and the other innumerable evidences of good honest workmanship on the part of the ordinary rank and file of official scribes. It is the same with the innumerable writs and letters, all neatly drafted in common form, and duly authenticated by the appropriate seals and the signatures of the responsible clerks.

The system of enrolment of the accounts passed and the letters written in every office leaves nothing to be desired in completeness and precision. Anyhow, the mediæval official took plenty of pains to discharge his daily task, and his labour was all the more praiseworthy since mediæval casualness and mediæval indifference to labour-saving contrivances exacted the maximum of effort and trouble in every case. Similarly, if we turn to the collections of examples, precedents and forms, which were from time to time written for the guidance of the various offices, we strengthen our impression of sound business traditions, laboriously developed and meticulously maintained. A reforming bureaucracy too is generally an efficient bureaucracy, and a long series of reforming edicts, inspired by the chiefs of various departments, bears high testimony to the useful activity of the fourteenth century civil service. Thus the last years of the dreary reign of Edward II witnessed an immense amount of administrative reform, notably the reform of the exchequer by the treasurer Stapeldon. Yet, despite all this, constant control and watchfulness were needed to keep clean the administrative machine and there was no control so effective as the personal oversight of the sovereign. In the monarch's absence the executive always tended to get out of gear. But the return of Edward I in 1289 after his three years' sojourn on the Continent, the return of Edward III in 1340 after his long preoccupation with war and diplomacy in the Low Countries, were immediately followed by the two greatest sweepings out of the Augean stables of administrative incompetence that mediæval history witnessed.

Up to this point I have striven to put my rather desultory observations on the mediæval civil service in as general a form as possible. If I have occasionally mentioned a name, it is from the well-known personalities of political history that I have chosen them, and that simply with the view of illustrating the wide career to official talent in the service of the fourteenth century English crown whose officers rose not seldom to the highest posts of both state and church, to the chancery and the treasury, to bishoprics by the score, to archbishoprics in fairly numerous instances. But my chief concern is not with the exceptional man so much as with the ordinary person, partly because the personal element in history is in my opinion still somewhat overstressed, and partly because in the weary studies of the innumerable rolls and records from which I have derived the impressions here set forth, I

have perforce had my attention devoted to the system rather than the individual, and so far as to the individual, to the obscure and unknown individual rather than to a few shining and conspicuous exceptions to the general rule of obscurity. It is the calibre and discipline of the rank and file, the competence of the subalterns and subordinate commanders that makes the difference between a heroic mob and a well-ordered military force. So it is not the occasional brilliant exception so much as the competence of the average official that makes a bureaucracy a success or a failure. Leaders of course there must be ; but leaders can look after themselves. If they do not arise spontaneously, there is anyhow no patent method, then or now, for creating the rare and divine gifts of inspiration and leadership. But a good system can make the average man competent to do his job. And this can, I think, be said to have been done by our mediæval civil service despite all its shortcomings.

The hardest problem in dealing with mediæval records is to disentangle the human element from the dull forms, and to tell what manner of men they were whose official acts and external history we know in such elaborate detail. It needs a good deal of historical imagination to vitalize the writs and rolls of a mediæval office. Besides what we can do in that way, we must not neglect our occasional chance to realize the individual character of the mediæval official. Accordingly I will now seek to illustrate what I have said from the careers of three civil servants of the fourteenth century, of whom we know by accident more than is the case with the majority. The first is a local instance of a successful, almost a brilliant, career of a typical civil servant who hailed from Lancashire, and whose fame is not perhaps quite commensurate with his deserts. Anyhow, his name, John Winwick, will excite little response even in historical minds. My other two examples are those of better known men, for they are two men of letters, one of whom was the most famous Englishman of his day, and the other, though of obscurer and more doubtful reputation, was at least a faithful disciple of his distinguished compeer, and is in no wise unknown to those who are interested in fourteenth and fifteenth century by-ways. I chose those two frankly because their writings have given them an established position ; but I also chose them because both were examples of official careers run by men whose personality is better revealed to us than is the case of most of their comrades. The former is an instance of a varied and successful lay

career in the civil service, and the latter is the case of a discontented and dispirited government clerk who never got beyond the drudgery of a second rate office, but who beguiled his leisure with long-winded and dull poems, which, if an offence to the artist, are to the historian of the mediæval civil service an absolutely unique field. My great name is of course that of Geoffrey Chaucer : my minor celebrity is the poet Thomas Hoccleve. Let us take these three men one by one.

John Winwick came not, as his name might suggest to the unwary, from Winwick, between Warrington and Wigan, but from the parish of Huyton, near Liverpool, where his father seems to have belonged to that numerous class of smaller landed gentry, poor in resources, strong in pride of race, and simpler and rougher in life and manners than a modern small farmer, a class which always furnished mediæval England with a large share of the men who rose to high posts in both church and state. John entered the royal service as a king's clerk and had the usual reward of a king's clerk in livings, pensions and grants. Among his ecclesiastical preferments the rich rectory of Wigan in his own district was one of the most important. It is not likely that Wigan saw much of him, though he was brought into its neighbourhood by the fact that he increased his otherwise ample resources by farming out in his non-official moments the administration of the estates of several rich Lancashire landowning families, including the Butlers of Warrington and the Hoghtons of Hoghton. Winwick's zeal for his kinsfolk comes out characteristically when his father, arraigned on a charge of homicide—a small matter to the mediæval mind—was, though acquitted of the charge, adjudged to have forfeited his chattels for some contempt of court. They were, however, restored in consideration of the long service which his son John had rendered to the king, especially in his expeditions abroad. Appointed a clerk of the privy seal, John Winwick became head of that office as keeper of the privy seal from 1355 to 1360 at a time when the keeper of the privy seal ranked next after chancellor and treasurer among the king's ministers. Dying in 1363, he left lands and estates to found a college at Oxford for students of civil and canon law, "desiring to enrich the English church with men of letters". Though his foundation received royal confirmation, the greediness of his heirs prevented the establishment of a Lancashire college in Oxford for clerks studying academic law, such as the would-be founder seems

to have contemplated. Altogether Winwick's was a prosperous, successful, public-spirited though not particularly startling career of a good official who thrived in all his undertakings and made the best of his chances in both worlds. You will note in particular how, all through his career, he remained in the same office, and had his reward by getting to the head of it. It was no disparagement to his integrity, that, like early civil servants of the East India Company, he traded on his own account as well as doing his work as a public servant. His service to the church, I imagine, came in as a bad third.

Geoffrey Chaucer is one of the greatest names in English literature, but I have no concern here with the man of genius. I am only interested in the way in which the public service of Edward III opened up a safe way for the great poet to earn his living in an age when literature was no profession because there was no printing, no copyright, and therefore no literary profits. This aspect of his career is the easier to follow since enthusiasts for Chaucer the poet have meticulously collected the scattered references to Chaucer the civil servant. With their help we can easily reconstruct his official career in its various stages. We begin with his early service in the household of the king's son—Lionel, Duke of Clarence—culminating in a campaign in France and a short term of captivity as a prisoner of war. Next comes his transference to the king's household and his long years of labour there as king's yeoman or valet, and later in the higher rank of the king's esquire. Besides his daily work at court, he was sent on those embassies which gave him increased knowledge of the literature of France, whose "culture" he absorbed none the less because he was often engaged in killing Frenchmen. Other missions to Italy perhaps brought him into personal relations with the masters of Tuscan verse, whose influence is so strong in his more matured work. Later on came marriage and his transference from household to public service, his controllership of the customs and subsidies of London, and his dwelling-house over Aldgate, handy for the shipping quarters on Thames side below London Bridge. Subsequently he was moved to other employments, such as the clerkship of works, that with some significant breaks marked his career until his death in 1400. We must not imagine that Chaucer owed these posts to his literary fame. It is more likely that he was promoted from one good job to another by reason of his subterranean connexions with the royal family, and notably through that close tie with John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, which perhaps made him

a sort of left-handed brother-in-law of the most active of the king's sons, and involved him also in the obscuration of his fortunes whenever the star of Lancaster sank low, and also secured the final rays of success that gilded the declining months of his life when the son of John of Gaunt became Henry IV. We must not, also, regard Chaucer's official labours as nominal. We have his own word for his absorption in business, and we know from his appointment as controller of the customs at London that the rolls of his office were to be written with his own hand, that he was to be "continually present," and to discharge personally all the duties of his office. But despite the words of the patent, he may have managed in the good mediæval fashion to have shifted the burden from his own to other less famous hands.

We may thank the leisurely methods of mediæval public service that they left Chaucer the civil servant the leisure to become Chaucer the poet, and we may in passing heave a sigh over the modern strenuousness of official life that bids fair in the next generation to make impossible the continued career of literature and state service of which we have had so many shining examples from the days of Chaucer to those of Lamb, the two Mills, and Matthew Arnold, not to quote some distinguished contemporary instances. It is more to our purpose to stress the career open to this London tradesman's son in the administration of Edward III and his grandson. The opportunity to men of the middle classes, instanced by the official record of Chaucer at court and in the public service, affords some lessons of social equality even to twentieth-century democracy.

Thomas Hoccleve was a friend and in a humble fashion a poetic follower of Chaucer, but while the broad sweep of the great poet's vision disregarded personal reminiscence and anecdotic triviality, the lowly muse of Hoccleve found its most congenial inspiration in the details of his private and official life. In all the great gallery of the Canterbury Pilgrims there was no public servant whose adventures and personality Chaucer deigned to sketch. On a different plane to his master as an artist, Hoccleve is immensely more useful to the historian of administration by reason of his habit of talking about himself. Professionally Hoccleve was, like John Winwick, a clerk of the privy seal. Though both began in the same way Hoccleve ended just where he began. In his official career he found no promotion, though he laboured at his desk for more than thirty years. He was equally unsuccessful in

his quest of a benefice, and at last cut himself off from all ecclesiastical preferment by an imprudent marriage, after which he was force transferred from his comfortable quarters in the household of the privy seal to a "humble cot" from which the only chance of escape was a debtor's prison. When at last his opportunity won him a modest crown pension, he could never get it paid; and his unceasing clamour for instalments of his annuity is a constant theme of his pedestrian muse. On his own showing Hoccleve was a poor creature, slack, cowardly, weak of will, mean-spirited, a professional begging letter-writer, a haunter of taverns, cook-shops and houses of ill-fame. Extravagant in good fortune, depressed and lachrymose when ill-health, poverty, and ill-fortune dogged his declining years, Hoccleve was throughout a dissipated, drunken, disreputable fellow, whose mean vices might well have brought him under the ban of the austere criminal law of modern civilization. Yet we must not take too literally all that he says against himself. Anyhow there is a touch of humanity about him that makes it hard not to think of him with some sympathy, if not also with sneaking kindness. Above all we owe him our hearty gratitude for giving us material for studying the humbler mediæval civil servant at his job. For the rest we can laboriously make a skeleton of the facts and dates of their careers. A sort of mediæval "Who's Who in the Public Service" would not be an impossible task. I have myself made such a list of the clerks of the privy seal, and my old pupil, Miss L. B. Dibben, has nearly completed the much harder task of a classified list of the clerks of the Chancery. Perhaps when peace again allows austere books to be published our catalogues may see the light of day. But the material makes nothing more possible than the barest catalogue of dates, preferments, offices, and other dry details. Hoccleve's verse alone shows us the mediæval official groaning over his weary task, and exciting at once our compassion and our derision.

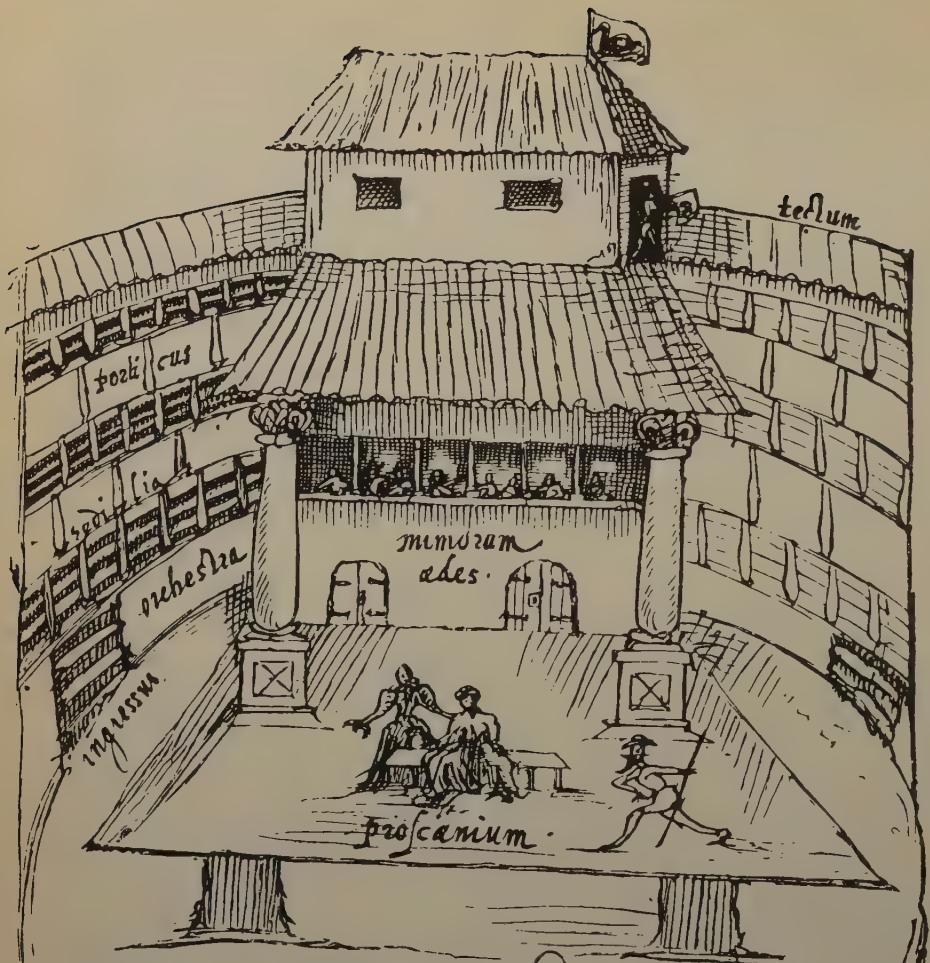
Hoccleve is at pains to tell us the hardships of the public clerk's life. Many men think, says he, that writing is not hard work, but a game. But the clerk's task is much more difficult than it seems. Those who have had no personal experience of it are no more qualified to pass judgment on it than is a blind man equipped to distinguish between colours. A scribe must work at the same time with mind, eye, and hand. If any one of these three fail, he has to do everything all over again. When bending over his work the poor writer can

neither talk to his friends, nor sing a song, nor play, nor jest. The craftsman, who can sing, talk, and play over his business, labours with gladness, but the clerk, stooping and staring on his sheepskins, must work in gloomy silence. From years of such odious toils come pains in the stomach, back, and eyes. After twenty-three years of such work Hoccleve's whole body was smarting with aches and pains and his eyesight was utterly ruined.

Yet even Hoccleve's tearful muse shows that there were brighter sides to the life of the privy seal clerk. There were the perquisites of his post, the modest gratuities that custom required from the man who went to the office to procure a letter of privy seal for his master or himself. There was too the comradeship and the merry common life with brother clerks and other boon companions. There was the Paul's Head Tavern, on the south side of the great cathedral, and the numerous and genial hostgeries of Westminster, hard by the place where his working days were spent. There was no austere discipline preventing the festive clerk from sleeping off his overnight debauch and reproofing him if he turned up late next morning at the office. When an instalment of the long-deferred pay or pension came to hand, the clerk with money in his purse could hire a boat from his lodging in the Strand, and be rowed up the river Thames to his desk at Westminster, where, office hours over, he could regale his friends with meat and drink. He might be a member, like Hoccleve, of a dining club, called the "court of good company," which included so great a personage as the Chancellor of the Exchequer—a civil servant not a politician in those days, but already a personage wealthy enough to entertain the whole staff to a May day banquet of sumptuous fare at the Temple. Nor was the office inconsiderate when serious trouble beset the underling. When poor Hoccleve was temporarily driven out of his wits, his annuity was regularly paid during his enforced absence from his work. When he came back cured, his fellow-clerks gave him a rousing welcome ; his superiors allowed him to resume his work, and the whole staff united in maintaining his competence and sanity before a suspicious world. When further troubles finally drove Hoccleve from his desk, the long-coveted corrody enabled him to spend his declining years in peace, so that, freed from his irksome labours, the old poet went on writing his painful verses for many years more.

With all his faults, Hoccleve's life was not spent in idleness.

Hundreds of writs of privy seal, drafted and signed by him, testify to his skill and method in official routine. Yet out of office hours he found time, not only for writing his voluminous poems but for the severe study of the literary models of which his poems were but too often the echo. He was well acquainted with three languages, Latin, French, and English, as every mediæval public servant had to be. He was versed not only in the *belles lettres* but in some of the more serious literature of his age. He was emphatically free from the reproach of neglecting his daily task for his personal pursuits, sometimes urged by anxious heads of departments against the modern literary official. A large and solid manuscript volume, still surviving in the British Museum, testifies eloquently to Hoccleve's official zeal. It is a sort of handbook for the tiro entering upon the career of a clerk of the privy seal. In it are set down in businesslike and orderly fashion the "common forms," the typical examples of every manner of document or writ emanating from the privy seal office. I do not claim Hoccleve as a model. I have not extenuated his many shortcomings. Yet looking at his career from our administrative standpoint, rather than from the literary point of view of those few who have previously taken the trouble to think or write about him, I cannot but record the impression that the business methods of this mediæval official were not much worse than those of more recent and more self-complacent days. Sordid and self-seeking as is much of mediæval official life, as it is revealed to us, we must not think that it necessarily excluded the higher ideals which, as we know, many men and women of those days cherished. Among the court officials of the corruptest court of the period, the court of Edward II, there worked for years that William Melton, afterwards archbishop of York, whose name is famous for his sanctity and high purpose, and of whom it was said that his long sojourn among the courtiers checked neither his piety nor his charity. Even apart from exceptions such as these, we have every reason to believe that even a modern government department might learn something from the wide knowledge, long service, corporate feeling, kindly indulgence, and sufficient devotion to the task in hand that are illustrated by the self-revelations of this obscure and unlucky public servant of the English state who died nearly five hundred years ago. Perhaps if we had lived in those days, and had the requisite influence, we might, as thrifty parents, decide then as now that the public service was a good enough career for our boys.



planities sine arena.

Ex observationibus Londoniensibus
Johannis de Witt

THE SWAN THEATRE.

SOME NOTES ON SHAKESPEARE'S STAGE AND PLAYS.

BY WILLIAM POEL,

FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR OF THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE SOCIETY.

*A wooden dagger is a dagger of wood,
Nor gold nor ivory haft can make it good . . .
Or to make boards to speak ! There is a task !
Painting and carpentry are the soul of masque.
Pack with your pedling poetry to the stage,
This is the money-got mechanic age !*

BEN JONSON.

THE Elizabethan drama was written for the Elizabethan stage. When the Elizabethan stage disappeared it became no longer possible to produce Elizabethan drama, for the dramatic construction of plays of that period was to a great extent dependent upon the form of the theatre, which had very special features. The first playhouse was built in 1576, and the last of its kind had disappeared before the Great Fire of 1666, and it had ceased to be used as a playhouse from the early days of the Civil War. Thus the Elizabethan playhouse was in use for a period of a little over fifty years, and had a unique existence in the history of the stage. Original in design, it was unlike any other building of the kind built before or after, so much so that it excited the notice of foreigners visiting this country as something quite unknown out of England. The peculiarities of its construction were due to the fact that English drama sprang from the entertainments of the people, and not from those of the Court, taking its form uninfluenced by the plays of Greece or Rome. It was shaped by the popular entertainments known as Mysteries, Moralities, Interludes, Bear-baitings, Wit-combats, Sword-combats, Street Pageants and Shows, all of which nourished the dramatic tastes of the people in a direction peculiarly its own. As a consequence, there existed nothing in the construction of the Elizabethan playhouse

suggestive of the Greek or Roman stage ; it embodied the varied conditions under which the public exhibitions of the day were given.

For centuries the people had been accustomed to dramatic entertainments illustrating incidents from Scripture history and legends of the Church. These were performed without break or pause in the action from beginning to end, while at the same time they were devoid of plot and dramatic sequence ; yet this very failing gave the construction of Elizabethan drama its special character which, with one or two notable exceptions, was never characterized by skill in the development of the story. On the other hand, the popular support of amusements which were merely a series of loosely connected incidents encouraged poet-dramatists to adopt a liberty in treatment and variety of subject altogether forbidden in classical drama.

The ascendancy of the native drama determined those playwrights who, while scholars, were yet men of the world, and deeply imbued with the spirit of the nation and of the age, to abandon a classical form of play and model their work upon that which public taste demanded. These brought their classical learning to bear upon the popular plays, and, while retaining the freedom of treatment allowed in them, aimed at greater coherency and stronger characterization. Yet Elizabethan drama would still have remained indistinctive but for the genius of Marlowe, who, seeing the possibilities that were presented in the people's drama, transfigured and recreated its form of expression so that it became a means of inspiration for future poets. And among others to Shakespeare, who gave unity of design and a continuity of interest that was planned on a philosophical basis, thus securing for Elizabethan drama a fame as great as that achieved by the Greek dramatists.

Naturally, there were scholars of the day who still preferred the classical imitations represented at Court to the popular play, upon which they were apt to look with contempt, as "neither right tragedies, nor right comedies" ; and undoubtedly among these must be numbered Ben Jonson, for, while tolerating the irregularities of native drama, he aimed at restoring it to classical order, and was able to some extent to re-establish in his own comedies the Latin form.

With the Restoration and the re-opening of the theatre there was no longer any national dramatic taste ; and the theatre, as an amusement, was supported mainly by Town and Fashion, influenced

by the Court. As a consequence, the Elizabethan playhouse was replaced by the proscenium, act-drop, and scene-cloth which had been introduced at Court by Inigo Jones during the reign of Charles I. From this period onward the stage has continued to represent plays more or less written on a classical model, and divided into acts and scenes. But in the new form of theatre it was impossible to give a proper representation of Elizabethan drama.

To understand the principle upon which the first Elizabethan playhouse was constructed it is necessary to remember what were the conditions under which dramatic and other entertainments were previously given, and to realize that it was English custom and tradition alone which guided the Elizabethan actors in designing its structure.

The most notable feature of the Elizabethan playhouse was undoubtedly the platform which was built out into the middle of the auditorium, having a space on three sides of it to accommodate the spectators. By the uninitiated it will not be readily conceived how absolutely the construction of Elizabethan drama depended upon this particular feature, and it is therefore of some interest to inquire from whence the actors derived the idea of thus bringing out the platform into the middle of the auditorium. There is no doubt that this was taken from the mediæval custom of presenting plays on a platform in the centre of the market-square, or other open space, so that the performance could be seen from all sides ; and it is evident that in the innyards, where plays were given before the first playhouse was built, the stage, though not actually in the centre of the yard, was built out from one of the walls, and open to the spectators from three sides. It is easy, then, to understand that, in building their first playhouse, the actors were only following the usage familiar to the people.

Perhaps the next most noticeable feature in the Elizabethan playhouse was the position of the pillars carrying the roof, or "heaven" as it was called. This possibly answered the same purpose as the sounding-board over a cathedral pulpit. Between the two pillars in front, the form of which differs in no way from that of those which supported the balcony in the innyard, ran the traverse, or small curtain, which was used occasionally to shut the rear part of the stage from view. And in the innyard originated the custom of using a balcony

for the characters to speak from, when they were supposed to be addressing the audience from "above".

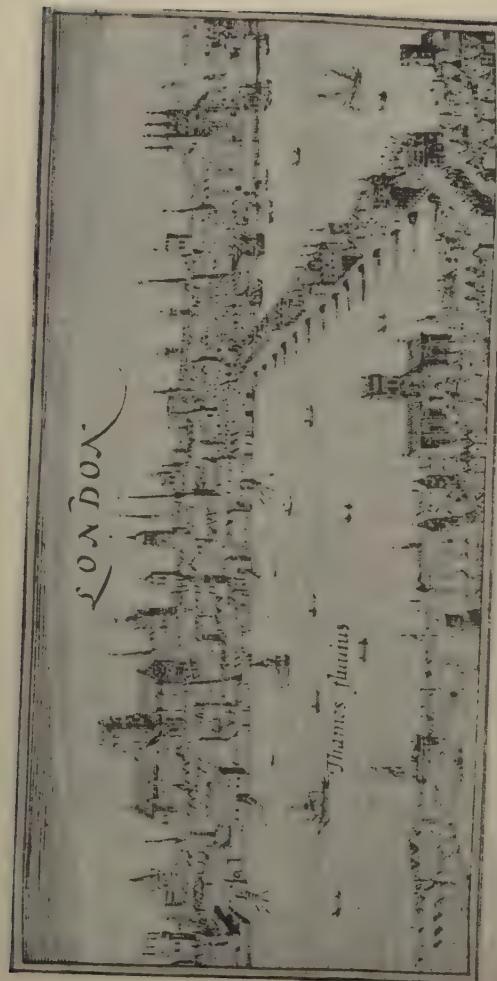
The two doors at the back of the stage, which also had important influence on the dramatic construction of Elizabethan drama, were obviously suggested by the conditions of acting in the banqueting halls of noblemen's mansions, at the one end of which was usually a gallery with two doors beneath. All those who are familiar with the dining halls of Gray's Inn or the Middle Temple, where Shakespeare's plays were acted, will understand.

It only remains now to account for the circular form of the first playhouse, and this was made round in imitation of the bear-baiting "rings" that existed on the Bankside. In the "Theatre" there were three tiers of galleries instead of one.

The history of the building of the first playhouse, which was constructed by the father of the great actor, Richard Burbage, is one specially interesting to the Shakespearian student, from the fact that the building materials, removed from the original site at Shoreditch to the Surrey side of the river, were re-erected in the same circular shape within a few yards of the still existing cathedral Church of St. Saviour. This playhouse became known as the famous "Globe". It was destroyed by fire in 1613. The only known representation of it in existence is the round building shown in Hollar's view of London, 1610.

For details of the "Globe" playhouse we have to turn to another theatre called the "Fortune". Although probably larger in dimensions than the "Globe," and square instead of round, it had many features in common with its more famous rival. The contract for the "Fortune" stipulates for the erection of a building of four equal external sides of 80 feet reduced by necessary arrangements to an internal area of 55 feet square. The length of the stage from side to side was to be 43 feet, and in depth it was to extend over half the space of the internal area. Three tiers of galleries occupied three sides of the house; the height of the first from the ground is not named; the second is stated as being 12 feet above the lower tier; the third 11 feet from the second, and the height above the third 9 feet. There were four "convenient rooms," or what are now called boxes, for the accommodation of musicians, and the

Hollar's View of London, 1610.



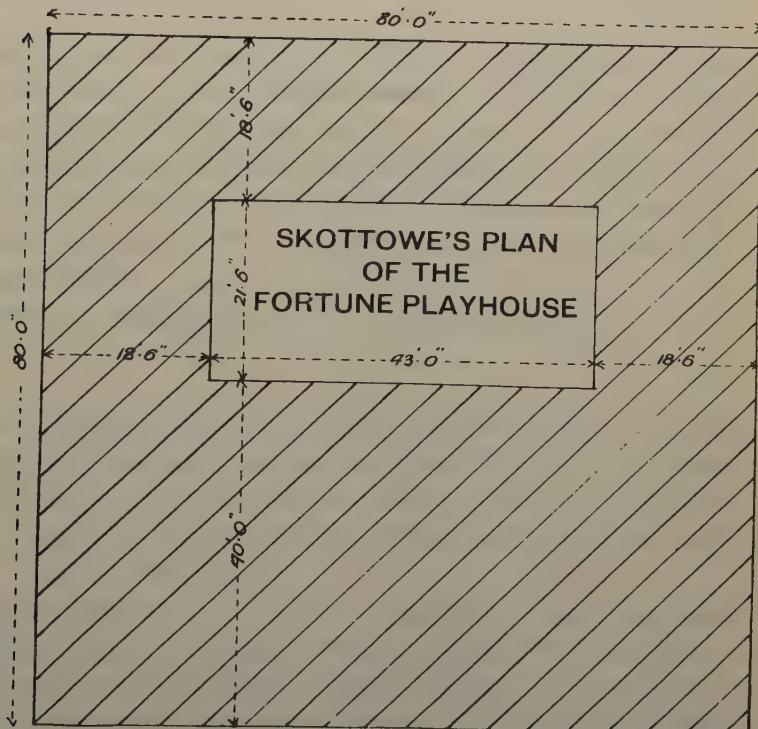
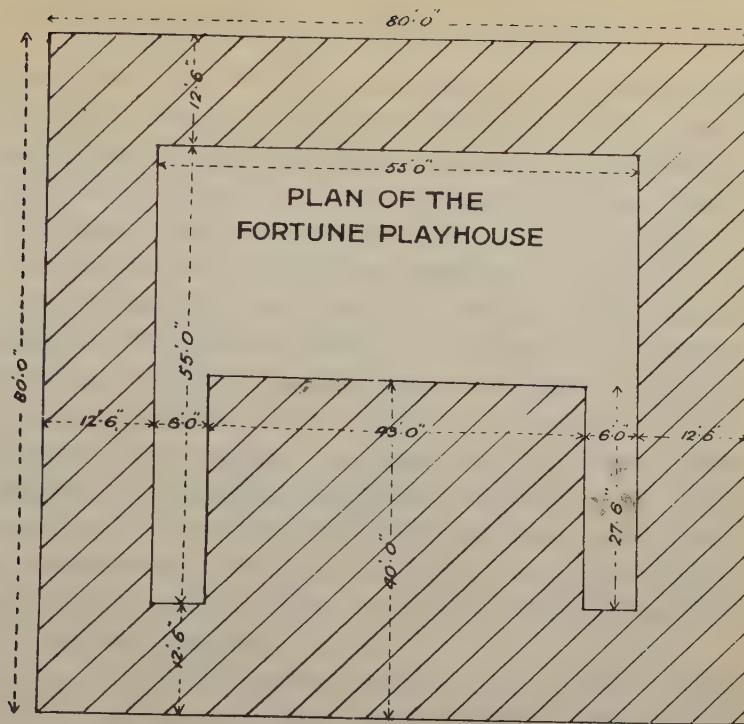
well-to-do citizens, partitioned off from the lower gallery, with rooms of similar dimensions for distinguished visitors in the upper galleries. The depth of the lower galleries measured $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the back to the front, and the upper stories had an additional projection of 10 inches. The space between the external wall of the playhouse and the front of the galleries was completely roofed in with tiles (the "Globe" had a thatch roof) as was also that part of the stage occupied by the actors, and known as the "tyring house," meaning the house of attire, whilst the open area, or pit, was exposed to the air. The foundation of the building was brick and projected a foot above the ground ; the rest was constructed of timber, filled in with lath and plaster. The "tyring house" had glazed windows, and the cost of this building including the tiles, the seats, and everything except the painting, of which probably there was not much, was estimated at £440, a sum equivalent in modern money to about £2500.

This builder's contract for erecting the "Fortune" playhouse has existed at Dulwich Library since the death of Edward Alleyn, the principal owner of the property, and it is curious that only one attempt has been made in modern times to reconstruct on paper the form of a building which so little resembled the modern theatre. The effort was not a very successful one. In 1824 a Mr. Skottowe wrote a life of Shakespeare in which appeared a plan of the "Fortune," and referring to Alleyn's contract he writes : "I do not profess to understand it, it is in fact inconsistent with itself. A square of 80 feet, everywhere reduced on each side by galleries of $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet in depth, would certainly leave a square area of 55 feet. But as the stage would necessarily occupy one side of the square, and the depth of the stage was to extend exactly to the centre, that is to say, to take up half of the remaining area, nothing like the area spoken of could be left open. Again, the length of the stage is expressly defined, 43 feet, which leaves it 6 feet too short at each side to form a junction with the ends of the galleries next the stage. I have no doubt, therefore," continues Mr. Skottowe, "of an error in the document, which I take to be the omission to calculate the space occupied by the passages and staircases. A passage of 6 feet wide behind the galleries added to this width would make a reduction of $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet from each side of the theatre, and leave a space between the front of one gallery to the front of the other of 43 feet, which is the exact width

assigned to the platform." Here, then, it is obvious that Mr. Skottowe failed to realize that in Shakespeare's time the actors performed at the public theatres on an open platform that projected as far as the middle of the pit.

It is evident, also, that on this open platform there was no means of erecting any scenery, otherwise the audience seated in the galleries nearest to the stage would have had its view of the actors obstructed ; nor in Shakespeare's plays is there a hint in the stage directions that there must be any change made in the mechanical arrangement of the stage to indicate the "place where". "What child is there," asks Sir Philip Sidney in his "Apology of Poetry" written about 1583, "that, coming to a play, and seeing 'Thebes' written in great letters on an old door, doth believe that it is Thebes ?" Apparently, then, the name of the country, where the action of the play took place, was posted upon some door—perhaps the entrance door to the theatre ; —the bill of the play, with its title and author's name, was certainly so posted. "It is as dangerous to read his name at a play door as a printed bill on a plague door." These words appear in Marston's play, "Histrionicus" (1598). When, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, Davenant produced his "Siege of Rhodes," and for the first time a painted scene was used upon the stage, a label bearing the name of "Rhodes" was painted on the frieze. The elder Hieronimo, in the play within the play of "The Spanish Tragedy," directs the title to be hung up, and announces : "Our scene is Rhodes". But often the bill, posted upon the outer door, within the theatre, was not hung up about the stage but carried by the *Prologue*, or one of the players would come forward with it before the play began. In Brome's "City Wit" Sarpego—who delivers the prologue—speaking of the play, says : "I that bear its title".

Acting in this country began about the twelfth century when vagrants, who amused the villagers with their tumbling feats, were paid to assist the trade guilds in the presentation of their religious plays, impersonating the imps and devils who were expected to be very nimble in their movements. In course of time the actors of interludes and moral plays became attached to some nobleman who maintained a musical establishment for the service of his chapel ; they then formed



part of his household. When not required by their master these players strolled the country, calling themselves servants of the magnate whose pay they took, and whose badge they wore. Thus Burbage's company first became known as "Lord Leicester's Servants," then as "Lord Strange's Men," afterwards as the "Lord Chamberlain's Men," and finally in the reign of King James as "The King's Servants". It is certain, however, that acting reached a high standard in the days of Burbage and Alleyn. The absence of theatrical machinery necessitated that dramatic poets should excel in their descriptive passages, and the actors' ability to impersonate stimulated literary genius to the creation of characters which the author knew beforehand would be finely and intelligently rendered. On all sides, the more we study its conditions, the better we perceive how workmanlike and businesslike a thing the drama was; it had nothing amateurish about it. For instance, we read how Elizabethan "old stagers" discussed a raw hand.

Burbage. Now, Will Kemp, if we can entertain these scholars at a low rate, it will be well; they have oftentimes a good conceit in a part.

Kemp. It is true indeed, honest Dick; but the slaves are somewhat proud, and, besides, it is great sport in a part to see them ne'er speak in their walk, but at the end of the stage; just as though, in walking with a fellow, we should never speak but at a stile, a gate, or a ditch, where a man can go no farther. I was once at a comedy at Cambridge, and there I saw a parasite make faces and mouths of all sorts in this fashion.

Burbage. A little teaching will mend these faults.

The wardrobe of the playhouse formed indisputably its most costly possession, for attention was so concentrated upon the actors in their parts that they had to be richly as well as appropriately attired; cloth of gold and of silver, and copper lace, were lavishly used. Thus we read:—

"Two hundred proud players jet in their silks." And, when not in their parts, the King's servants were allowed four yards of bastard scarlet for a cloak, and a quarter of a yard of velvet for the cape; the attendants of the stage wearing the blue coats of serving-

men ; the coat of the boys, whose duty it was to draw the curtains, set chairs and so forth, surviving with little modification in the dress of Christ's Hospital—the Bluecoat School. All bore the badge of their master in silver. From these, and from the audience, the actors in the costume of their parts stood out by glitter and magnificence, while spectacular effects were sometimes obtained by the display of a crowd of actors in brilliant costumes. Collier mentions that persons from twelve nations, owning the sway of the conqueror, came upon the stage, each being represented by two actors. Thus four and twenty persons seem to be required to represent the conquered nations, besides the characters in the play, also necessarily present. Crowds, too, with varying outcries, were introduced ; thus in an old stage direction we read : *Enter all the factions of noblemen, peasants, and citizens fighting. The ruder sort drive in the rest, and cry : "A sack ! A sack ! Hawocke, hawocke ! Burne the lawiers bookes ! Tear the silks out of the shops !"* In that confusion, the scholler escaping from among them, they all go out, and leave him upon the stage.

Music there was, at all the houses, for incidental use in the play—the orchestra comprising viols, hautboys, flutes, horns, drums, and trumpets ; but evidently musical interludes breaking up the play were beneath the dignity of the "Globe," which maintained a high dramatic tone. Thus, Webster, in his induction to the "Malcontent" which he wrote on the transference of that play from the "Fortune" to the "Globe" in 1604, gives the following dialogue :—

W. Sly. What are your additions ?

D. Burbage. Sooth, not greatly needful ; only as your sallet to your great feast, to entertain a little more time, and to abridge the not received custom of music in our theatre.

However, the boys of the Chapel Royal, in their scarlet, sang at the representations at the Blackfriars' playhouse where a concert usually preceded the play.

The wealthy and fashionable spectators who went to the theatres to see and to be seen, sat on three-legged stools upon the stage. The tireman served out the stools, which were part of the furniture of the playhouse. Such gallants as were "spread upon the rushes" had

probably arrived after the supply of stools was exhausted, for it seems to have been first come first served throughout the house.

It was amid such surroundings as these that the Elizabethan drama arose and flourished. Attention was concentrated on the actor with whose movement, boldly defined against a simple background, nothing interfered. The stage on which they played was narrow, projecting into the yard, surrounded on all sides by spectators. Their action was thus brought into prominent relief, placed close before the eye, deprived of all perspective ; it acquired a special kind of realism, which the vast distance and manifold artifices of our modern theatres have now rendered unattainable. This was the realism of an actual event, at which the audience assisted, not the realism of a scene to which the audience is transported by the painter's skill, and in which the actor plays a somewhat subordinate part.

Here was a building so constructed that the remotest spectator was within a hearing distance conveying the faintest modulation of the performer's voice, and at the same time no inartistic effort was needed in the more sonorous utterances.

And the dramatist's freedom with time and place was justified by conditions which left all to the imagination. The mind in this way can contemplate the farthest land as easily as the most familiar objects, nor in following the course of an action need it dread to traverse the longest tract of years any more than the widest expanse.

There can be no doubt that Shakespeare, in the composition of his plays, could not have contemplated the introduction of scenic accessories. It is fortunate this should have been one of the conditions of his work. He could the more readily use his rare gifts both as poet and dramatist. He knew that the attention of his public would not be distracted by outward decoration which he must have felt was of no real help to the playwright except to conceal a poverty of language or of invention, or want of ability to create character. Shakespeare's plea for the exercise of the spectator's imagination, as expressed in the opening chorus to "Henry V," condemns in principle the most perfect modern scenic representation. This is an opinion which is supported by many writers and among them the following :—

"It is a noble and just advantage that the things subjected to

understanding have of those which are objected to sense ; that the one are but momentary and merely taking ; the other impressing and lasting : else the glory of all these solemnities¹ had perished like a blaze, and gone out in the beholders' eyes, so short-lived are the bodies of things in comparison of their souls."—BEN JONSON.

" Now for the difference between our Theatres and those of former times ; they were but plain and simple, with no other scenes nor decorations of the stage, but only old Tapestry, and the stage strewed with Rushes, whereas ours for cost and ornament are arrived at the height of Magnificence, but that which makes our stage the better, makes our Playes the worse, perhaps through striving now to make them the more for sight than hearing, whence that solid joy of the interior is lost, and that benefit which men formerly received from Playes, from which they seldom or never went away but far better and wiser than when they came."—RICHARD FLECKNOE, "Discourse of English Stage," 1660.

" Shakespeare's plays are said to afford a curious proof how needless are scenic decorations. We are asked what plays could more need the whole art of the decorator than those, with their constant interruptions and change of scene ; yet there was a time when the stages on which they were performed consisted of nothing but a curtain of poor coarse stuff, which, when it was drawn up, showed either the walls bare or else hung with matting or tapestry. Here was nothing for the imagination, nothing to assist the comprehension of the spectator, or to help the actor, and yet it is said that, notwithstanding, Shakespeare's plays were, at that time, more intelligible without scenery than they became afterwards with it."—LESSING.

" What makes Shakespeare's greatness is his equal excellence in every portion of his art—in style, in character, and in dramatic invention. No one has ever been more skilful in the playwright's craft. The interest begins at the first scene, it never slackens, and you cannot possibly put down the book before finishing it. . . . Hence it is that Shakespeare's pieces are so effective on the stage ; they were intended for it, and it is as acted plays that we must judge them. . . . They might succeed better still if the conditions of representation had not changed so much in the last century. We demand to-day a kind

¹ A masque at the Court of King James.

of scenic illusion to which Shakespeare's theatre does not lend itself."—
M. EDMUND SCHERER.

"I also saw 'The Tempest,' with really magical scenery ; but, unfortunately, Shakespeare vanished in the enjoyment of the eye. One forgot the Poet in the wonderful decorations, and returned home as empty as if one had been viewing a panorama."—HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN to the GRAND DUKE OF WEIMAR, 9th August, 1857.

"The short space of time—from two hours to two hours and a half—in which plays are said to have been acted in Shakespeare's time, has excited much discussion among commentators. It can hardly be doubted that the dialogue, which often exceeds two thousand lines, was intended to be spoken, for none of the dramatists wrote with a view to publication, and few of the plays were printed from the author's manuscript. This fact points to a skilled and rapid delivery on the part of the actor. Artists of the French school, whose voices are highly trained, and capable of a varied and subtle modulation, will run through a speech of fifty lines with the utmost ease and rapidity, and there is good reason to suppose that the blank verse of the Elizabethan dramatists was spoken 'trippingly on the tongue'. In the 'Stage Player's Complaynt,' a pamphlet that appeared in 1641, we find an actor making use of the expression : 'Oh, the times when my tongue have ranne as fast upon the Scœane as a Windebankes pen over the Ocean !' As the plays, moreover, were not divided into acts, no pause was necessary in the representation ; they were, besides, so constructed as to allow the opening of every scene to be spoken by characters who had not appeared in the close of the preceding one, this being done, presumably, to avoid unnecessary delay. So with an efficient elocution, and no 'waits,' the Elizabethan actors would have got through one-half of a play before our Victorian actors could cover a third."—"Transactions of the New Shakespeare Society," 1887.

In dramatic construction Shakespeare excelled all his contemporaries. With the management of the verse he was throughout his professional career making experiments, and only in his latest plays does it become a facile instrument for dramatic expression. But as regards the constructive form of the play he seems from the first to have preferred the method of continuity in vogue on the public stages to the more artificial plan of the classical play which consisted of five episodes,

more or less complete in themselves, with a chorus or dumb show between each of them. It is impossible that Shakespeare could have been ignorant of the existence of the Latin plays which were acted (sometimes in English) at the Universities and at the Inns of Court, but the internal evidence of the plays themselves shows that he was very sparing in the use of chorus, avoiding the dumb show and the unnecessary introduction of incidental music. Shakespeare wished the story of his plays to develop easily and rapidly from the opening to the crisis which was not reached until about two-thirds of the play had been written. And then came the catastrophe in the concluding incidents. An examination of the first collected edition of his plays, in the 1623 folio, confirms this view. Of the thirty-six plays which appear in that volume six of them have no divisions into acts and scenes, and of these six "*Romeo and Juliet*" is among the early written plays, while "*Antony and Cleopatra*" is one of the latest. Ten of the plays are divided into acts but without any further divisions for scenes, and among these ten is "*Titus Andronicus*," a very early play, and "*Coriolanus*," a very late one. Twelve of the plays are irregular in their divisions; one has an act omitted altogether as in "*The Taming of the Shrew*"; some of the acts are divided into scenes, and not others, as in "*Henry VI, Part I*"; once the opening of the play is divided into acts and scenes and then the division is not further continued, as in "*Hamlet*". Out of the whole thirty-six plays in this first folio there are only eight in the volume having divisions—in acts and scenes—similar to those shown in the printed editions to-day; and these eight include "*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*," together with "*The Tempest*," a comedy written twenty years later. Now it seems incredible that this wide divergence of treatment of divisions in Shakespeare's plays, collected under one cover, should have been accidentally overlooked by the editors, or sanctioned by the publishers without comment. The explanation would seem to be that the editors probably looked upon the inserted act and scene divisions as matters of little importance since they were aware that twenty-one of the plays had already appeared in print without them, many of which were still being acted at the "*Globe*," also, it may be presumed, without regular intervals. Then if the editors realized that the divisions they were adding to the plays in the folio failed to show the conclusion of definite incidents, or to mark the changes

of locality, they doubtless abandoned the task without attempting to complete it. This seems the only way to account for the meaningless confusion in which these divisions have been left in the volume.

For instance, to take the comedy of "Twelfth Night," one of the plays having its original divisions still retained on the modern stage, to its injury as drama. In the play the comic action culminates at the point where Sir Andrew, after the interrupted duel with Viola, runs off the stage by one of the stage-doors to immediately re-enter by another, and assaults her twin brother Sebastian to his own infinite discomfort. How out of place it was to insert an act division between Sir Andrew's exit and re-entrance seems to have struck the printer who, at the end of this act, omits the words *Finis Actus Tertius*, the only act out of the five which does not receive this indication of finality. In the "Midsummer Night's Dream" the printer again shows his ingenuity in escaping from difficulties. As the Elizabethan stage had no drop-curtain the conclusion of a scene or act was made apparent to the spectator by the return of all the actors to the "tyring-house". In the Dream play, where the division of Act III. is shown, the pair of lovers are still asleep on the stage, and in order that the reader may not think they rise and leave the stage the words *They sleep all the Act* are inserted. Then when the play is continued in the next act and the direction *Exeunt* appears, the reader again is reminded that this does not apply to the sleepers, for the words *Sleepers Lye Still* precede the word *Exeunt*. In the earlier quarto editions, where act and scene divisions are not used, the stage directions about the sleepers do not appear; nor would they be needed if the action of the play were continuous.

Some scholars are of opinion that "The Tempest" was written originally as a masque for performance at Court and not for the public theatre. But the play reads very much like Shakespeare's farewell contribution to the repertory of the King's players. The action is continuous, except that the dramatist for the first and only time leaves the stage empty between the fourth and fifth Acts, unless something has been omitted from the original text. The play has the appearance of having been printed from the author's own manuscript, and it no doubt was inserted in the folio by the editors as the first play among

the comedies because it was their latest acquisition from his hand. It is probable, too, that this was the only one of Shakespeare's plays which he himself divided into acts and scenes. Moreover, the stage directions are undoubtedly his own, and suggest that he was writing instructions for those whom he would not be able to personally rehearse on the stage. Whatever background may have been used in the way of a scene, either at the Court performance or at the Black-friars, Shakespeare wrote "The Tempest," as he did all his other plays, without visualizing any scenic accessories as forming a necessary part of the representation. The costumes worn by the characters, the properties they used, and the tapestried stage with its two doors, balcony, and alcove—these are the only stage adjuncts of which Shakespeare seems to have been conscious during the twenty years in which he wrote plays.

The table on the opposite page shows unquestionably that Shakespeare's plays were written to be acted and not only to be read. If they do not act well on the modern stage it is because our actor-managers no longer understand how to present them. But it is difficult to believe that the plays would not recover their vitality in the theatre if they were produced on a stage similar to that of the Elizabethan period, when managers would be obliged to concentrate their attention on the characters and on the dialogue. To-day when it is asserted that a play of Shakespeare's has been given for 200 consecutive nights it means that it has been produced in the form of grand opera, and that while the claims of the author to just treatment have been entirely ignored those of the stage carpenter have been lavishly acknowledged and provided for.

At the same time it must be increasingly recognized that in English-speaking countries the playhouse is no longer used to foster plays which hold the mirror up to nature, and that classical dramas are not wanted by those who at present control our theatres solely for the purpose of commercial speculation.

A CHRONOLOGY OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS, SHOWING WHERE THEY WERE ACTED

The "THEATER". Shoreditch.	Newington Butts. Lambeth.	The "Rose". Bankside.	Place of Representa- tion not known.	The "CURTAIN". Shoreditch.
Built 1576.		1592-1594.	1590-1596.	1596-1598.
		Jan. 23, 1593. <i>Titus Andronicus</i> (first performance).	Comedy of Errors. <i>Love's Labour's Lost.</i>	Romeo and Juliet.
1587-1589. <i>Thos. Kyd's (?) Old Play of Hamlet, and Marlowe's Doctor Faustus are mentioned as having been acted here sometime before 1596.</i>	Feb. 26, 1591. <i>Marlowe's Jew of Malta.</i>	Hen. VI. Part II. Hen. VI. Part III.	Two Gentlemen of Verona. Midsummer-Night's Dream.	<i>Ben Jonson's Comedy, 'Every Man in his Humour' was acted in this theatre by Burbage's players, 1597-8.</i>
	Mar. 3, 1591. Hen. VI. Part I. (first performance).	Edward III. (Countess Episode).	Merchant of Venice. The Taming of the Shrew.	All's Well That Ends Well.
	June 9, 1594. <i>Old Play of Hamlet (revised).</i>	Sept. 25, 1601. <i>Kyd's Spanish Tragedy; with additions by Ben Jonson.</i>	Richard III. King John. Richard II.	Hamlet (rewritten by Shakespeare).
		The Cross Keys, Inn Yard, Gracechurch Street.	<i>Some of these plays may have been acted at the "Theater."</i>	Hen. IV. Part I. Troilus & Cressida. Hen. IV. Part II. Merry Wives of Windsor.
		1594. Burbage, with his players, and Shakespeare acted here some part of this year.		Antony and Cleopatra. Coriolanus. Cymbeline. Winter's Tale. Tempest.

NOTE.—Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* and *Hamlet*, also Marlowe's *Faustus* and *Jew of Malta*, the time we hear of him is from the performance of *Hen. VI. Part I.* at Newington Butts. A year later his name disappears from the lists of actors at the Rose, but it was written about this time. *Romeo and Juliet* and Ben Jonson's *Comedy* were acted at the Rose. The evidence for play-revivals at the Globe is found on the title-pages of the later editions of the plays taken from Cunningham's *Revels*, and copied from Mr. J. T. Murray's *English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642*. It is evident from this that the performances of the dramatist's plays in the royal palaces during his lifetime must have been numerous, and the dates given in the following table, though inclusive, are arranged approximately in the order in which they were written.—W. POEL.

STEPS TOWARDS THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

In publishing the fourth list of contributions to the new library for the crippled and exiled University of Louvain, which has been in process of formation in the John Rylands Library since the month of December, 1914, we furnish fresh evidence of the generous and widespread sympathy which our appeal has evoked.

One of the most gratifying features of this response to our appeal is that all classes of the community, not only in this country, but in many parts of the English-speaking world, have participated in it. The list of donors will be found to contain, not only the names of institutions which have made liberal contributions of eminently suitable works from their stores of duplicates ; and of individual collectors who have given with equal liberality, from their own shelves, volumes of great interest, and often of great rarity ; but also the names of struggling students and working men whose gifts partake of the sanctity of a sacrifice, since they consist, in many cases, of treasured possessions which had been acquired through the exercise of strict economy and self-denial, and which in consequence they had learnt to love and prize.

In this way upwards of 8000 volumes have been accumulated already, and each day brings with it fresh offers of assistance. These gifts constitute an excellent nucleus for the new library ; yet, when it is realized that the collection of books so wantonly destroyed at Louvain numbered nearly a quarter of a million of volumes, it is evident that if the work of replacement, which we have inaugurated, is to be accomplished, very much more remains to be done.

There are those who seek to condone this insensate crime of destruction by suggesting that the burning of the library of Louvain was an unfortunate accident ; whilst others contend that the contents of the library were only partially destroyed, and that portions have been removed to a place of safety. Unfortunately, these views are not

shared by such trustworthy eye-witnesses as Monsieur Delannoy, the Librarian of the University, who himself witnessed the deliberate destruction of the library by German soldiers provided with special apparatus, without any attempt being made to spare the contents. Indeed, so complete was the destruction that not a single entire leaf could be recovered from amongst the débris. Several charred volumes which had retained their shape were found, it is true, but these crumbled to powder as soon as they were handled. Other evidence of an equally convincing and trustworthy character of the wantonness of the crime has been furnished by Monsieur Henri Davignon, Secretary of the Belgian Commission of Inquiry, in a communication to the editor of "The Times," which appeared in the columns of that journal on the 19th October, 1916, where, in the interest of truth, we have placed before us many facts which have been established by Belgian and neutral witnesses, and even by Germans themselves, in a manner which would prove satisfactory to any Court of Inquiry.

Much of this damage is beyond repair, since among the manuscripts alone, which numbered at least 1000 volumes, were many priceless and irreplaceable treasures. The collection contained an autograph manuscript of sermons of Thomas à Kempis, the author of "*Imitatio Christi*" ; a fifteenth century manuscript of "*De viris illustribus*" of Cornelius Nepos, which was regarded as one of the most important extant texts of that author ; two autograph manuscripts of Donysius Carthusiensis ; an eleventh century manuscript of Prudentius ; a large number of manuscripts relating to the history of Belgium, many of which dealt with the history of the various religious houses ; and a considerable number of liturgical and other illuminated manuscripts. But the loss most to be deplored consists of the total destruction of the Archives of the University, including that most precious of all the muniments, the foundation Bull, issued by Pope Martin V in 1425, which renders for ever impossible the complete and documentary history of the *Alma Mater* of the new foundation, which was in contemplation, if we are correctly informed, at the outbreak of the war.

And it was not only in manuscripts that the library was rich. Its printed books included a remarkable collection of "Incunabula," numbering upwards of a thousand examples, a large proportion of which

were printed in the Low Countries. The collections of mathematical and medical works were equally notable, the latter containing the fine vellum copy of "De corporis humani fabrica" of Vesalius, presented to the University by the Emperor Charles V; whilst the collections of "Jesuitica" and "Jansenistica," said to be quite unrivalled, were amongst the possessions of which the University was justly proud.

It is true that much of this damage, as we have already remarked, is beyond repair, but some of it may be at least mitigated by the ready co-operation of the sympathetic Allies, who realize the measure of their indebtedness to that great little Nation, who sacrificed all but honour to preserve her own independence, and thereby safeguard the liberties of Europe, by nullifying the invader's plans.

Mr. Lloyd George struck the right note when he exhorted us to keep the fires on every national altar burning, so that they shall be alight when those, who are upholding the honour of the nation upon the various battlefields, return with the laurels of victory from the stricken fields of this mighty war. Unfortunately, many of the altars of our noble Ally in Belgium have been either desecrated or thrown down by the self-constituted apostles of culture. Should we not, therefore, regard it as a privilege to assist her in every possible way to erect new altars, and to rekindle the sacred fires, which, for the time, have been wellnigh extinguished?

It is, therefore, with the utmost confidence that we renew and emphasize our appeal for help in this endeavour to restore, at least in some measure, the resources of the crippled University, by the provision of a library adequate in every respect to meet the requirements of the case, so as to be in readiness for the time of her restoration.

It is unlikely that we shall be able to offer the equivalent of the thousand lost manuscripts. That equivalent must be exacted from Germany by means of a toll upon her rich collections at Berlin, Munich, Dresden, and elsewhere. And what is true of manuscripts applies with equal force to the other departments of the library, including the fine collection of "Incunabula," many of which may be actually replaced from the collection in the Royal Library at Berlin. This, surely, is one of the obligations which Germany should be forced to fulfil on the conclusion of peace. It must, however, be borne in mind that the object of the toll is to make amends; it must not be allowed to develop into actions of reprisal.

We entertain the hope that the new library, which is already rising phoenix-like out of the ashes of the old one, will be far richer and more glorious than its predecessor ; and we are anxious that the agencies through which this is to be accomplished should be as widely representative as possible.

For that reason we welcome the appeal which has been made by Lord Muir Mackenzie, Chairman of the Executive Committee, which was appointed early in the year at a large representative meeting, over which Viscount Bryce presided, for promoting the resuscitation of the Library of the University of Louvain, and we hope that it may result in giving a fresh impulse to the movement. It is to be hoped, however, that some attempt will be made to provide for the co-ordination of the efforts which are being put forth in many directions to bring about the same result.

It may not be out of place to explain, that when we made our first public appeal in April, 1915, no other definite steps or public announcements of any similar proposals had been made. We have since learned that the Classical Association had decided to make an appeal to its members to assist in the reconstruction of the classical side of the library, and that the University of Manchester had resolved to set aside a set of the publications of the University Press, together with a considerable number of duplicates from the Christie Library ; but for various reasons definite action was postponed for a while.

In the meantime the present scheme was launched. It originated with the resolution of the Council of the John Rylands Library, held in December, 1914, to give some practical expression to their deep feelings of sympathy with the authorities of the University of Louvain, in the irreparable loss which they had suffered, and it was further decided that this expression of sympathy should take the form of a gift of books to be selected by the librarian from the duplicates in the possession of the library, together with a set of the publications issued by the library.

A list of works forming the first instalment of the proposed gift, numbering upwards of 200 volumes, was drawn up to accompany the offer, when it was made to the authorities of the University, through the medium of Dr. A. Carnoy, Professor of Zend in the University of Louvain, who at that time was resident in Cambridge. The offer, it is needless to say, was accepted, and Professor

Carnoy in his acknowledgment described the gift as "one of the very first acts which tend to the preparation of our revival".

As the exiled University was for the time dismembered and homeless, we undertook, at the request of the Louvain authorities, to house the volumes until such time as the new buildings were ready to receive them. It was then that it occurred to us that there must be many other libraries and similar institutions, as well as private individuals, who would welcome the opportunity of sharing in this expression of practical sympathy, and we announced in the pages of the BULLETIN of April, 1915, our willingness to receive and be responsible for the custody of any suitable works which might be entrusted to us, with the result which we have already announced.

Our undertaking includes the preparation of a careful register of the names and addresses of the contributors to the scheme, together with an exact record of their gifts, for presentation with the library, to serve as a permanent record.

Furthermore, we have undertaken to prepare a catalogue of the collection, so that when the time comes for its transference to its new home it may be placed upon the shelves prepared for its reception, and be ready forthwith for use.

In order to obviate any needless duplication of gifts the librarian would regard it as a favour if those who may decide to respond to this appeal would, in the first instance, send to him a list of the works which they are willing to contribute, so that the register may be examined with a view of ascertaining whether any of the titles already figure therein.

It is possible that there are, amongst our readers, or in their immediate circle of friends, many others who would gladly participate in this expression of practical sympathy with the authorities of Louvain University, did they possess any suitable works. For their information we venture to point out that there are a number of modern reference works, such as: "The Catholic Encyclopedia"; "The Jewish Encyclopaedia"; "The Oxford English Dictionary"; "Wright's "English Dialect Dictionary"; "The Dictionary of National Biography"; Baldwin's "Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology"; "The Cyclopaedia of Education"; "Le Grand Dictionnaire Universel" of Larousse; "La Grande Encyclopédie"; "Patrologiæ Cursus Completus," edited by the Abbé Migne; "Glossarium Mediae et Infimæ

Latinitatis" of Du Cange; and others of a similar character which are indispensable to the efficiency of the library of any modern university, and which, hitherto, have not been included in any of the registered gifts. We should welcome offers of such sets, and we should be glad, in case of need, to put would-be contributors in communication with the agents who would undertake to procure them. Already one contributor has forwarded a cheque for five pounds, for the purchase of any suitable books that we may advise, and we shall be glad to receive other contributions of a similar character.

The names of donors, with a description of their gifts, will be published periodically in the pages of the BULLETIN.

THE ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. Per P. J. Anderson,
Esq., M.A., LL.B., Librarian.

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NOTE.—Such has been the pressure upon our space in the present issue that we have been reluctantly compelled to hold over the second half of this list of contributions for inclusion in the next issue.

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CLASSIFIED LIST OF RECENT ACCESSIONS 279

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